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Grinevskiy Cited on Confidence-Building Talks

LD2303155990 Moscow TASS in English 1502 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Vienna March 23 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov:

The rapid developments on the European continent dictate the need to step up talks on confidence-building measures and security in Europe. Much work is needed to prepare a package of such measures for the 1990 all-European summit meeting. This view was expressed today during the first plenary meeting of the Vienna Forum's sixth session, attended by representatives of 35 Conference on Security and Cooperation (CSCE) nations.

It is noted here with satisfaction that there are quite a few coinciding elements in the stands of parties to the negotiations, particularly as regards the coverage of ground forces and aviation by new confidence-building measures. There are also several grounds on agreement on naval forces in the stands of East European, neutral and non-aligned states.

At the same time, it is high time to reach agreement on greater openness and predictibility of aerial and naval activity and on limiting ground, naval and air activity.

The Soviet delegation still believes the main purpose of the negotiations is to draw up a set of confidence-building measures to cover all three arms of the service—ground forces, aviations and navies.

The work of editorial teams, which met here this week, shows there are favourable prospects for drawing up a mutually acceptable agreement on such measures as the promotion of military contacts, the holding of annual meetings of CSCE experts on confidence-building measures and security, the perfection of communication systems, etc.

"The Soviet delegation," its leader Oleg Grinevskiy told TASS, "is ready to make its contribution to the solution of existing problems. It expects the Western partners to display equal readiness. This refers primarily to confidence measures covering naval activity. The problem needs to be solved, since it is now the only obstacle slowing down further progress towards strengthening security and stability in Europe."

"To neglect this and not to take concrete steps towards more openness in the naval sphere and more predictibility in naval activity, would mean to plant a delayed action mine under the process of building up confidence, guaranteeing security and promoting disarmament."

"Conceptual differences on restrictive measures are a stumbling block in the work of editorial teams," Grinevskiy said. "It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union is taking concrete steps to further reduce large-scale military activities and carries them out chiefly in the form of staff exercises. However, both the Soviet and other delegations are rightly concerned by the intention of certain states to leave unchanged the level, scope and intensity of their military activity."

"Such a stand contradicts the purpose of our negotiations and developments tending to radically change the military-political climate in Europe. We proceed from the premise that this problem should be solved at the current stage of the negotiations, and should not be timed for the completion of the reduction of conventional forces, as suggested by some Western partners. Otherwise we will lose the chance to elaborate new measures to strengthen European security. The observed lag of confidence-building measures behind developments on the continent will further increase," Grinevskiy stressed.

'Reasonable Compromises' Possible on SDI

PM2603112190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Mar 90 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Candidate of Technical Sciences Major General V. Belous: "The SDI Syndrome. Seven Years Since the United States Announced the 'Strategic Defense Initiative'"]

[Text] The U.S. defense secretary's latest annual report to the Congress and the President has been published. Attention is drawn to the section of this lengthy document devoted to the first stage in the deployment of U.S. strategic ABM defense. The report's author claims that it could be developed by the end of the century under the proposed scenario.

If we analyze U.S. military-technical policy on SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative] in the seven years since it was announced, we must acknowledge that the strategic goals and schemes have not changed substantially in any way. There have only been changes in tactics, which are closely tied in with the pace of U.S. scientific and technical progress.

On the basis of what certain U.S. politicians have said and reports of a reduction in spending on SDI, Western and Soviet specialists have often hastily concluded that this program has allegedly already "gone out of fashion" and is gradually losing significance. However, closer study of the problem reveals a different picture. There is hardly any doubt that, when the SDI program enters its decisive stage, there will be forces in the Untied States demanding that the country withdraw from the indefinite ABM treaty. Can the Soviet Union fail to take this possibility into account?

Undoubtedly SDI, like all other U.S. military programs, is designed to break the military parity that has taken shape and secure strategic superiority over the Soviet Union. One of the features of the SDI program is that the United States intends this time, for the first time in the entire postwar period, to secure so-called "strategic defensive weapons" rather than offensive weapons via the planned deployment. According to the usual human understanding, the concept of defense is frequently associated with peace-loving policy. However, one must bear the following two elements in mind when evaluating SDI. First, there is in principle no reliable defense against nuclear weapons and, second, strategic defensive and offensive arms form a single system which possesses considerably higher combat effectiveness than the simple sum of its component parts.

However, people in the United States now prefer not to remember the close connection between offensive and defensive systems. Military specialists consider the best option to be a reduction in the USSR's nuclear missile potential and the simultaneous deployment of a strategic ABM defense for U.S. territory, particularly the space-based elements, to be the best option. The following question involuntarily comes to mind: Is it advisable for the Soviet Union under these conditions to proceed to cut back its strategic offensive arms? Are we not acting rashly in agreeing to radical cuts in our nuclear missile systems? These questions cannot only be answered from the positions of "common sense" or "intuition." Definite conclusions can be drawn from studying models for possible combat operations carried out by the two opposing sides.

First, I must say that at present USSR-U.S. military-strategic parity, which is the material basis of international stability, has a considerable safety margin. This means that unilateral efforts by one country to acquire military-strategic superiority will require tremendous effort and take a long time and may, consequently, be neutralized by retaliatory actions by the other side. A 50-percent cut in USSR and U.S. strategic offensive arms ensures that strategic stability is preserved at an acceptable level. However, a further reduction in the level of military confrontation will require more profound, comprehensive study involving scientists from various scientific fields.

It must be stressed right away that the question of developing strategic ABM defense will be considerably exacerbated after the first stage of strategic offensive arms reductions. This will happen as the result of an increase in its potential influence on strategic stability. In fact, if ABM defense is 90-percent effective, for instance, approximately 600 out of of 6,000 Soviet warheads from a retaliatory strike will be able to reach their targets on U.S. territory. That is virtually enough to inflict unacceptable damage on the aggressor. At the same time a further reduction in strategic offensive arms to, for example, 500 warheads could create a situation whereby a 50-warhead retaliatory strike against an aggressor would not be enough to inflict retribution. Under these conditions the "hawks" could plan to avail themselves of their potential advantages and press the nuclear button.

The existing asymmetry in USSR and U.S. offensive arms is universally recognized. Surface-launched ICBM's form the basis of the USSR's nuclear potential, while the United States has submarine-launched ballistic missiles [SLBM's]. One of the reasons for this switch to SLBM's is the U.S. ruling circles' desire to remove the most important strategic targets from the country's territory. In this case a considerable proportion of a potential enemy's warheads will be directed toward them and will not inflict direct damage on the country's population and economic potential. SDI is also meant to serve this purpose.

Siting weapons in space, some of which will be able to hit surface targets, should radically "ennoble" the scenario for a future war. Some military theoreticians depict a war where the main combat operations are mounted in space, while the U.S. population monitors the course of the battle on its television screens from safe places.

The "position of strength" policy and the development of space programs have met with no opposition among the U.S. population. The arms race has already become a customary "national sport." Employment in the military industries, notably the aerospace industry, enables millions of American families to lead a comfortable existence. Americans are only aware of the threat of war by hearsay, at a time when the specter of unemployment is an extremely real one. It is no coincidence that many Americans directly associate their well-being with the expansion of military-space programs, without considering their possible tragic consequences.

Moreover, the use of the achievements of the U.S. military and space industries in the production of peaceful output goes back a long way. The point is that most major weapons-producing firms produce nonmilitary output at the same time. That is why extensive use is made of all the latest achievements in the sphere of military technology in the manufacture of goods for the population. The high profitability of military output enables subsidies to be provided for research in the development of new materials and technologies. Thus the claim that the SDI helps to increase the technological level of U.S. industry has real foundation.

The SDI program is frequently identified with the development of ABM defense alone. This inference is hardly correct. Without doubt, the development of wide-ranging ABM defense is one of the main aims of SDI. However, in the opinion of some scientists, the main aim of the studies under this program is to develop fundamentally new types of weapons that are even more effective than nuclear missiles. When deployed in space, these weapons will replace the latter and assume a global character.

Some of the arguments put forward by SDI's champions also require careful consideration. The world today is bipolar, they argue, but in the near future it will become multipolar. This will also affect the military sphere. Whereas today there are eight states on the "nuclear threshold," capable of crossing it and beginning production of mass-destruction weapons, by the end of the 20th century there will probably be 20 such states. They will also possess missile technology. All this will considerably increase the risk of both deliberate and accidental nuclear conflict.

Socioeconomic backwardness, a vast foreign debt that they cannot repay, poverty, and acute social conflicts within these countries, together with nuclear missiles, could create an extremely dangerous situation in the world. This danger could become a real one in the near future, particularly for the United States, which is the largest moneylender. Under these conditions the preservation of USSR and U.S. nuclear might for some time to come may be a reliable means of deterring certain authoritarian, adventurist regimes from issuing potential ultimatums threatening to use nuclear weapons.

In order to eliminate this threat, SDI's apologists argue that it is necessary at the least to develop a "thin" ABM defense capable of successfully dealing with small numbers of incoming missiles. One of the plans for this kind of defense proposes siting 1,000 ground-based interceptor-missiles in six areas of the United States. Mindful of current realities, we should hardly deny the possibility of reasonable compromises in the future and the development of defenses for U.S. and USSR territory against accidental missile launches or blackmail attempts and threats made by third countries.

However, there are fundamental problems from the viewpoint of creating a genuine system of international security. One such fundamental problem is the ban on siting strike weapons in space. If the "space threshold" is crossed, this will result in the unrestrained escalation of the arms race, which no one will succeed in halting.

Dispute Over X-ray Equipment Resolved

LD2503024990 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] The superpowers have sorted out their differences following a recent dispute over the use by the American side of X-ray equipment, cargo scan, as part of the verification procedure at the Soviet missile-producing plant in the city of Votkinsk under the INF Treaty.

The equipment, designed to verify the nonproduction of Soviet-made SS-20 missiles, causing opposition by the Soviet side, has now been allowed to be used. Mikhail Streltsov, a Soviet representative of the special verification commission under the INF Treaty, explains:

[Begin Streltsov recording in Russian, fading to superimposed English translation] The equipment was mounted at the plant's exit point last month, with Soviet and American experts to hold joint experiments later. These included X-ray studies of a railway wagon containing a missile. However, the equipment was found to be out of line with INF Treaty provisions. The Americans, who disagreed, made an attempt to use the equipment unilaterally.

Although purely technical, the issue of the equipment's incompatibility with the INF Treaty and verification memorandum was essential. To resolve it, the sides set up a joint commission whose findings led to changes in cargo scan specifications to bring them into line with the treaty. It has been allowed for use since Thursday. [end recording]

On reports alleging that the Soviet side threatened to use firearms to prevent the U.S. inspectors from using the equipment, Mr. Streltsov described them as being out of touch with reality.

He said THE WASHINGTON POST report had already been rejected by U.S. officials as untrue. He said the U.S. inspectors and plant officials in Votkinsk were engaged in constructive cooperation, adding that such incidents were ruled out. Mr. Streltsov described the paper's report as a falsification.

On the locale of Soviet-built SS-23's in East Germany, Mikhail Streltsov says these had been supplied to that country long before the INF Treaty was signed and has been owned by East Germany since. None of them have been supplied with nuclear warheads, and as such do not fall under the INF Treaty, while all of the Soviet-owned SS-23's have been destroyed under control from U.S. experts.

On the general mood among experts in Votkinsk, Mr. Streltsov said both sides had reached understanding in resolving the cargo scan issue. He said further experience had been gained in implementing a complex international agreement such as the INF Treaty is, and that the meeting could help progress in disarmament, which is impossible to achieve without effective and reliable verification.

20th Jubilee of Nonproliferation Pact Marked

PM2103120390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 3

["IZVESTIYA interview" with USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction: "For as Long as a Single Warhead Exists...."]

[Text] The Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons entered into force 20 years ago, in March 1970. Signed 1 July 1968 siumultaneously in Moscow, Washington, and London by representatives of the USSR, the United States, and Britain, this document plays an important part in curbing the nuclear arms race. USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy talks about the treaty's significance in an interview for IZVESTIYA.

[Petrovskiy] The Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons is based on reciprocal commitments by states possessing nuclear weapons and by nonnuclear states. These commitments are intended to rule out the possibility of the acquisition of nuclear weapons by the latter—that is, to prevent so-called "horizontal" proliferation. According to Article I of the treaty, states possessing nuclear weapons pledge not to transfer to anyone nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices and not to help nonnuclear states to manufacture or acquire them. In turn, states not possessing nuclear weapons pledged, in accordance with Article II, not to manufacture and not to acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices and not to seek or receive any assistance in their manufacture. Moreover, Article VII confirms the right of any group of states to conclude regional agreements in order to assure the total absence of nuclear weapons in their territories and to create nuclear-free zones.

The treaty also includes provisions on preventing the "vertical" proliferation of nuclear weapons, that is, their improvement by the nuclear states. In accordance with Article VI, each of the parties to the treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race and complete disarmament under strict international control.

The pledge by nonnuclear states to place under International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] control (safeguards) all the fissionable material used in all their peaceful nuclear activities, which is meant to prevent its diversion to military purposes, occupies an important place in the text. The parties to the treaty must also promote in every way the development of international cooperation in the application of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

[IZVESTIYA] How many states have so far endorsed the treaty, and what can you say about the effectiveness of its procedures?

[Petrovskiy] The Nuclear Weapons Nonproliferation Treaty is one of the "most densely populated" international agreements: 140 states are party to it, which gives it a high degree of authority worldwide. Unfortunately, the parties to the treaty do not include two nuclear powers—France and the PRC. However, it should be said that in many important respects they are behaving as if they were parties to the treaty.

India, Pakistan, Argentina, Brazil, and also Israel and South Africa remain outside the treaty. Their nonparticipation in the treaty undoubtedly causes certain problems, but, by and large, there is every justification for saying that the treaty and the procedures established on the basis of it are effective. Since the conclusion of the treaty the number of nuclear states has remained unchanged. Which means that the danger of the worldwide spread of nuclear weapons has been curbed and the treaty's main goal has been attained. Not for nothing did M.S. Gorbachev call the nonproliferation treaty a "unique example of states' highly developed sense of responsibility."

I want also to stress the IAEA's special contribution to ensuring the treaty's effectiveness. It is its system of safeguards that cements the nonproliferation setup and ensures its durability. Incidentally, the USSR is actively involved in the agency's inspection activities. This work is also being carried out on the territory of the Soviet Union: Some years ago, as an act of good faith, the USSR made part of its peaceful nuclear activities subject to IAEA safeguards. Agency inspectors are frequent visitors to our country.

[IZVESTIYA] The latest round of Soviet-U.S. consultations on nuclear weapons nonproliferation issues took place in Moscow in February. What were its results?

[Petrovskiy] The results of the Moscow round of consultations are bound to give rise to mutual satisfaction. Senior representatives of the USSR and the United States carried out a joint analysis of the status of the nuclear nonproliferation setup, exchanged opinions on the situation in certain parts of the world, and evaluated IAEA activities in relation to the treaty's goals and the effectiveness of the international principles of the regulation of nuclear materials export. Special attention was paid to preparations for the conference to examine the operation of the treaty, which is to meet in August-September this year. The depth and quality of the debate is indicated by the mere fact that three special working groups were set up within the framework of the consultations.

The exchange of opinions was frank and constructive. The result was that the sides recorded the closeness or full coincidence of their viewpoints on the issues under consideration. And the range of issues was rather wide. For example, during the consultations the sides touched on the state of affairs relating to the burial of radioactive waste and favored the more active application of the IAEA's mighty scientific and practical potential to the solution of this problem, which is acquiring an increasingly definite social dimension.

To complete the picture, I would add that we conduct similar consultations annually with the third depositary, Britain, and also a number of other countries, in particular the FRG, Canada, Australia, and Switzerland....

[IZVESTIYA] How do you view the future of the Nuclear Weapons Nonproliferation Treaty?

[Petrovskiy] The answer to this question will depend to a large extent on the results of the aforementioned conference to consider the operation of the treaty, which takes place at the end of the summer. That is why so much attention during the Soviet-U.S. consultations was devoted to preparations for the conference.

The assessment of the treaty's effectiveness by many states, both states that have endorsed it and states that have not endorsed it, is formed by specifically taking into consideration the actual advances that are being made in the disarmament sphere, in particular as a result of the Soviet-U.S. talks in this field. Obviously, the success of the upcoming conference largely depends on what substantive and concrete accords have been reached at these talks by the time it opens, above all on questions of nuclear tests and strategic nuclear arms limitation. Therefore, progress at the talks on nuclear disarmament is, as it were, a material condition of the conference's adoption of far-reaching decisions in support of the Nuclear Weapons Nonproliferation Treaty and the international setup that has taken shape on the basis of it.

The Soviet Union favors making the Nuclear Weapons Nonproliferation Treaty universal and of indefinite duration. We hold that the document should remain in force for as long as there remains a single nuclear weapon in the world. It can only be replaced by an all-embracing international agreement not to revive nuclear weapons once they have been fully and finally eliminated.

Results of USSR-CEMA Energy Trade Examined

90UI0435A Moscow TRUD in Russian 12 Mar 90 p 3

[Report on interview with V. Voloshin, candidate of economic sciences, associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System by S. Yakovlev; date and place not specified; first paragraph is TRUD introduction: "Who Needs Preferential Prices?"]

[Text] Energy occupies an important place in trade between the CEMA member countries. The mutually profitable cooperation in this field is described in a TRUD correspondent's interview with V. Voloshin, candidate of economic sciences and associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System.

[Yakovlev] What is the volume of trade in oil within the CEMA framework and what does our country obtain thanks to it?

[Voloshin] In 1988 about 90 million tons of liquid fuel were delivered from the USSR to CEMA member countries, and during the 1971-1988 period deliveries almost doubled, while during that same time exports of natural gas increased by a factor of more than 10, reaching 40 billion cubic meters. In exchange for fuel the Soviet Union has been able to increase its commodity imports. But most of the income has nevertheless been spent on acquiring machine-building output for the oil and gas industry.

The "Druzhba" oil pipeline and the "Soyuz" and "Bratstvo" gas pipelines have been constructed jointly, and the Orenburg gas condensate deposit has been opened up. This has made it possible for us to reduce the time taken to resolve national economic tasks. Exports of energy sources to CEMA member countries have been a decisive factor in the development of the importers' economies and has brought separate advantages for our country. Although there may be other views on these advantages.

In 1988 the contract price for a ton of Soviet oil was about 130 transfer rubles. If we had been selling the oil for dollars ($100 a ton at that time) we would not have lost about $40 on every ton delivered, for example, to Hungary (according to my calculations, in 1988 because of the deals to sell fuel to CEMA countries the Soviet Union lost about $4 billion).

Judge for yourself: If we had used those assets to buy consumer goods in the West we could have sold at least R40 to R50 billion in the domestic market, and this is about one-sixth of the excess money available among the public.

Of course, these are all abstract thoughts on the principle of "what would happen if...." For in the West it would first have been necessary to find a buyer for our oil. But the CEMA countries have been constantly insisting on increased deliveries. In order to increase exports the Soviet Union had to significantly increase oil and gas recovery. In 1970 we recovered 353 million tons of oil (including gas condensate), while last year the figure was already 607 million tons. During the same period gas recovery rose from 184.5 billion cubic meters to 796 billion cubic meters. As a result of the faster rate of recovery some of the gigantic deposits began to be exhausted more quickly, and opening up new deposits required considerable spending increases. In the early seventies it cost about R50 to create new capacities to recover one ton of oil; in 1985 the figure was R88, and this year it is R129. Here, in the pursuit of new millions of tons of oil and cubic meters of gas we have often "forgotten" about the ecology.

The fuel sectors of industry have become oversized. In 1987 they accounted for almost 40 percent of industrial capital investments (in the early seventies the figure was a little over 20 percent). At the same time the related sectors—metallurgy, heavy machine building, and the sectors forming the material-technical base for the fuel industry—have also been expanding. This has increased the disproportions in the economy and this has increasingly been put on people's backs: There have been insufficient funds available to produce consumer goods.

The unjustifiably high level of exports has become one of the reasons for the fuel shortages in our country. Because of these shortages many industrial enterprises today find themselves experiencing energy hunger, and equipment stands idle during the time of sowing and harvesting work and road, railroad, and air transport cannot operate at full capacity.

[Yakovlev] So does this mean that only our CEMA partners have gained from this?

[Voloshin] It would be incorrect to claim this unambiguously. Yes, they are provided with almost 95 percent of their fuel, which they import from this country. But although it was long thought that this kind of support in energy needs was an important advantage for the EEC states, in fact, under the pricing conditions existing in CEMA and the absence of a market mechanism for cooperation, this advantage is imaginary if the losses are taken into account.

It is common knowledge that all accounts within the CEMA framework are done according to contracts prices agreed annually on the basis of average world prices for the previous five years. Thus, whereas "their" prices changed in fits and starts depending on market conditions, within the CEMA framework they were not subjected to such sharp fluctuations. There have been times when the cost of oil traded between CEMA countries was 30 to 40 percent lower than on the world market. This has enabled our partners to allocate their assets to other sectors. But at the same time the misalignment between their own production and energy consumption has grown, and the national energy bases have been developed only slowly and have not matched overall world trends. The consequences of this "one-sidedness" have been long term and it is not easy to calculate the harm. In my opinion, they exceed the advantages derived by the CEMA countries from the import of Soviet oil.

[Yakovlev] And so it has been necessary to maintain this mutually disadvantageous trade?

[Voloshin] We have essentially used our national resources so that our CEMA partners could build socialism Stalinist style. The principle of proletarian internationalism was for us not simply a slogan but a guide for action. Moreover, the foreign trade organizations had their own interests: It is no secret that Soviet machine tool output is not usually of the best quality. It was incomparably more difficult to "foist" it on the domestic market than it was to sell a ton of oil. And the sale of oil had an unjustifiably high effect on exports, because the accounting was done in "gross."

[Yakovlev] Apart from anything else, this kind of cooperation has in one sense made our partners "profligate"....

[Voloshin] Yes, some of them have developed a parasitical attitude toward the Soviet Union. They have been unable to resist the temptation to sell our oil to the industrially developed countries in order to obtain convertible currency.

[Yakovlev] And will it not come about that our partners will refuse our oil and we will lose our guaranteed markets?

[Voloshin] In my opinion this is unrealistic, and for a number of reasons: The existing system of oil pipelines, which shapes the infrastructure and traditional ties, the complexity of going out into the world market and looking for new suppliers, and so forth. But if anyone does suddenly refuse the oil then it would be more expedient to use a considerable proportion of it inside the country and sell some to the West where there are at least opportunities for expanding Soviet oil imports.

[Yakovlev] What is the prediction for the future?

[Voloshin] It was made at the recent 45th CEMA session. The member countries, with the exception of Cuba, were in general agreement with the USSR proposals to switch to mutual trade at prevailing world prices, and to handle accounts in convertible currency. This kind of approach should also gradually affect first and foremost those commodities that could be competitive in the world market. At the same time the switch will be an important step in eliminating the deformations in the economies of our countries and in cooperation between them.

Shevardnadze Sends Letter to UN Chief

LD2403174290 Moscow TASS in English 1731 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—Follows the full text of the letter, released here today, from Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar:

Dear Mister Secretary-General,

I have already had a chance, in a letter forwarded to you on April 30, 1989, to present the Soviet Union's proposals concerning ways to form and the functions and tasks to be accomplished by the urgent Ecological Aid Centre, the creation of which was proposed in the speech of Mikhail S. Gorbachev at the 43rd session of the UN General Assembly.

The letter noted among other things that the centre's principal function would consist in prompt sending of international groups of specialist to areas where the ecological situation has dramatically deteriorated to analyse the situation and prepare recommendations on the curtailment and eliminating negative consequences. It was also pointed out that it was desirable to finance the centre's activity with the minimum expenditure from the U.S. regular budget and that a procedure could be envisaged under which the member-countries would pay from their own resources for sending specialists when required. On behalf of the Soviet Union, the readiness was expressed to participate in a practical way in measures to create the centre by providing services of soviet researchers and specialists.

The idea of creating an ecological emergency aid centre at the United Nations was received by most countries with interest and understanding. This positive international response reconfirms the need to translate the Soviet proposal into the language of specific actions. Specific practical actions are the key element of international cooperation in the protection of the environment at the present stage.

Today I have the honor to forward to you a list of 33 Soviet scientists and specialists, whom the Soviet Government will be ready to send to places indicated by the ecological emergency aid centre. In this way, the first step has been taken towards the creation of the international expert corps, the interaction with which will be the centre's prime task at the first stage of its existence. If other countries, which have amassed rich national experience in environmental protection, did likewise by assigning to the centre several experts each and pledging to pay their travelling expenses, the new UN agency could begin functioning within the next few months at the minimum expense to the UN regular budget. (One or two office workers would be required to keep the lists of experts and bring them in touch with the governments of countries applying to the centre for aid). In this way, two conditions would be realized in practice which are required to further international environmental protection cooperation—the leading role of the United Nations and the readiness of each member-nation to render diverse material support to this cooperation, taking it, when necessary, beyond the confines of established stereotypes.

I would appreciate, mister secretary-general, any information about practical steps you would deem possible to take with the aim of expediting the creation of the ecological emergency aid centre at the United Nations.

I would also like to ask you to release this letter as an official document of the 45th U.N. General Assembly Session". [quotation mark as received]

Weekly Observers Roundtable Aired

LD2503214390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Weekly "International Observers Roundtable" program, presented by Boris Andrianov, with all-union radio foreign political commentators Nikolay Agayants and Gennadiy Vedenyapin]

[Excerpt] [Anarianov] Events in and around Lithuania have unarguably become the whetstone on which our glasnost, our new laws, and our ability to resolve the most acute problems in a balanced and responsible way are tested— in short, a test of the whole process of democratization of Soviet society. If one is to judge from the reactions of the foreign mass media, from utterances by prominent political and public figures in various countries, the spread of opinion is so great, the subjectivity of the views being expressed so evident, that to draw together these sometimes contradictory viewpoints to a common denominator is extraordinarily difficult. All the same, we shall try to extract the main points from the mass of detail, not to mention a great deal of rumor and conjecture or even outright speculation. And so, the hasty, not to say rash, decision by the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania proclaiming independence created a situation which was hardly simple, rather out of the ordinary, one might say.

[Agayants] Yes, Boris Vasilyevich, that is indeed how it all is. And to my mind the following is indicative. As was to be expected—that is, of course, if one follows the logic of international developments over the past five years—the steps taken by the new Lithuanian leadership have been received in the West with no special rejoicing. Indeed, many view them as undesirable or untimely in the present already complicated international situation. Why is this? Well, above all because they might hamper the process of reform taking place in the Soviet Union and disrupt stability in Europe and in East-West relations which are developing in a positive direction. For instance, as an Associated Press correspondent has reported from Washington, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater has stated that the Bush administration learned with concern of the additional measures adopted by Moscow in relation to Lithuania but the United States continues to appeal to both sides for dialogue.

[Vedenyapin] And when all is said and done, Lithuania will have to take account of Soviet interests if she hopes to obtain what she is seeking: so wrote THE NEW YORK TIMES a few days ago. To my mind this sentence very comprehensively conveys the West's reaction to the situation that has taken shape. In summing up the position taken by Washington officialdom on this question, THE NEW YORK TIMES writes that the U.S. Government welcomes the efforts being made by the Baltic states to free themselves from Moscow's authority. At the same time, it is denying them diplomatic recognition and economic aid. That, the paper concludes, is a principled and practical position.

[Andrianov] Incidentally, that this is not a time for euphoria—and euphoria is very clearly apparent in certain representatives of the Lithuanian population—is something which features in many foreign reactions to the events in the republic. Here is what another prestigious U.S. newspaper, the BALTIMORE SUN, had to say, and I quote: The Lithuanians are now declaring that in the future they supposedly intend to engage in active cooperation with the Scandiavian states. We are inclined to think that all this talk is evidence of dreaming rather than of realism on the part of the Lithuanians. Once the initial passions and exhilaration subside the Lithuanians will come to realize that they are far closer to Poland, Germany and, above all, the Soviet Union. I emphasize, this is what the BALTIMORE SUN wrote. So, none of it is at all as simple as some people in Vilnius today appear to think.

[Agayants] It should be indicated at once that the numerous reactions to the events in Lithuania highlight a very important and fundamental point. Stress is laid on the fact that although the problem of Lithuania's secession from the USSR touches the interests of the whole Soviet state the leader of the Soviet Union has ruled out methods of force for resolving the problem, considering that contentious issues can and should be resolved only through dialogue. How the Sajudis leaders' decision was received in European capitals is very telling. The British Foreign Office, according to an ITV television correspondent, was pretty restrained in its reaction to it. For his part, in an interview with the Vienna newspaper DER STANDARD, the head of the Austrian foreign policy department stressed categorically that his country has not the slightest intention of interfering in processes of separation—processes which he views as extremely dangerous in political terms. In Brussels a spokesman for the Belgian Foreign Ministry observed quite reasonably that the step taken by the Lithuanian parliament goes no way at all to solving the question of real granting of independence and is not a practical step in this respect.

[Vedenyapin] Many West German papers have cited in this connection the words spoken in a television interview by Academician Vilkas, a Sajudis deputy in the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, which were in start variance with the euphoric utterances coming from Landsbergis and other figures. Let me remind you that what the academician observed, with bitterness, was: To declare independence straight away is the same as sitting naked in the rain. Meanwhile, in the Scandinavian countries, by whom the current Lithuanian leadership is setting so much store, the attitude to their decision is also quite clear. Finnish Prime Minister Holkeri has said: Our country will recognize the independence of Lithuania only once the republic's decision to go its own way is acknowledged by the Soviet Union's parliament. And then the Norwegian Foreign Ministry press spokesman made it crystal clear that his government will be taking no steps whatsoever to recognise Lithuania as an independent state. That is what he said.

[Andrianov] Many political and public figures in various countries have come out with utterances in approximately the same vein. When Polish Foreign Minister Skubiszewski was asked during his visit to Prague how he views the problem of Poland's eastern borders in connection with the events in Lithuania he said that that problem was resolved in 1945 and that his country's government supports Lithuania's aspirations to self-determination, but—and Skubiszewski emphasized this—this process must take place within a defined framework and should in no way exercise a destabilizing effect in europe. The question of the republic's independence must be resolved by Lithuania and the USSR. One could draw the conclusion that fear of the development of separatist tendencies in the Soviet Union capable of undermining stability in Europe and in the world is the reason for the clear restraint in (?reactions to) the Lithuanian leadership's proclamation of independence. [as heard]

[Agayants] Undoubtedly. To provide further grounds for your proposition, Boris Vasilyevich, I would quote something said by Gisele Moreau, member of the Politburo and secretary of the French Communist Party Central Committee, in a radio interview with Europe No. 1. Personally, she said, I feel deep mistrust of any manifestations of nationalism and separatism, which lead up a blind alley. Many Lithuanians are advocating autonomy and I understand that. But independence puts some most serious political, social, and economic questions on the agenda, questions which cannot be disregarded. Those were the words of Gisele Moreau, member of the Politburo and secretary of the French Communist Party Central Committee.

[Vedenyapin] So whither next the white horseman on his white charger? I am referring to the heraldic symbol on Lithuania's current coat of arms. And this is far from being a rhetorical question. For Lithuania is dependent on exports of industrial goods—engines, machine-tools, and television sets—to other parts of the Soviet Union, which represent a wide-open market with their goods distinguished by their low quality even by East European standards as well as a source of cheap raw materials. Lithuania is too small to attract Western capital investment. That was noted by (? Janvars), director of research of the U.S. consultancy firm (? Planacon). As that expert summed it up, the Soviet Union could survive fully without Lithuania, but Lithuania will be unable to live without the Soviet market.

[Agayants] The foreign media and eminent experts coincide in the view that Lithuania will inevitably be faced with very serious difficulties given that she is bound by thousands of bonds to neighboring republics and to the whole Soviet Union. The FINANCIAL TIMES observes that the price of divorce from Moscow could prove to be high and agonizing, and it goes on: Moreover, the question of military installations on Lithuanian territory is extremely important, as is that of workers of non-Lithuanian nationality wanting to leave the republic and that of border areas with high concentrations of national minorities. In other words, we are talking about those problems which were examined at the third Congress of USSR People's Deputies and which were set out clearly and precisely in the documents sent by the president of the Soviet Union and the head of our government to the present leadership in Lithuania. So the white horseman on his white charger will need to think hard before breaking into a headlong gallop. And to wind up this subject I simply cannot resist quoting a passage—an eloquent passage—from an article by Irina Ovchinnikova published in IZVESTIYA: We have all lost our way. There is—there can be—no question of going back fifty or even seventy years. So together we all have to look for the road to tomorrow. There is no need to slam the door because life will still force us to knock on it again—from both sides. End of quote.

[Andrianov] What more can we say? At this time when we ourselves and our neighbors are thinking anew about our national interests and specifying goals and priorities in our policies it is very important that we should not upset what is sometimes a very fragile balance, and that we should not damage the process of stabilization. What are more than ever important today are patience and magnanimity in mutual relations, extreme delicacy, and goodwill. Any kind of prior convictions, prejudices or instinctive antipathies cannot be good counsellors in these circumstances.

[Vedenyapin] In fact, this sort of advice cannot be any more topical, as far as all the current events in East Europe are concerned. In the sea of passions which has been stirred up in that part of our continent, much has recently been unjust, borrowed, and brought down to the simple level of mass meetings. And this can probably be accounted for by the fact that the political self-determination of new public forces is proceeding mainly in the form of reaction to the past, divisions, and negation.

[Agayants] A vivid illustration of this can be found in the results of the first free contestable elections to the GDR People's Chamber which were held last Sunday. What was characteristic for them? Above all evidently an unusually high percentage of the participation of the electorate. I will remind you that out of more than 12 million citizens in the GDR, over 93 percent turned up at the ballot boxes. That reflected, above all, the desire of the republic's citizens for the unification of the two German states, for democracy and for a palpable socio-economic progress.

[Andrianov] One should note right away that the results of the elections did not by any means prove to be of a kind that had been prophesized by the results of public opinion polls. For example, they promised only 10 percent of the vote to the Christian Democrats. Yet they received 400 percent more votes. In all, the conserviative block of the Alliance for Germany managed to gain over 48 percent, having obtained 193 seats in the parliament. Social Democrats who had been a favorite party for a long time, believed that they would be able to gain the absolute majority of seats in the parliament and thereby form a government. So, the Social Democrats had to resign themselves to 22 percent of the vote. The PDS came confidently third. Not less than 17 percent of the electorate voted for it. Well, this is a good result if one takes into account that in the course of pre-elections campaign, the Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS] was subjected to the toughest attacks from all quarters for the mistakes of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], its predecessor. There were even fears that the party would have to leave the political arena altogether.

[Vedenyapin] Against the background of the anticommunist campaign launched in that country, that party gained more, at the elections, in the framework of its possibilities, than had been expected. This is, of course, an unequivocal political advantage for it. It means that the party is alive and that it is undergoing restoration. What is, in fact, important is, that to a considerable degree, this is happening due to young people. The PDS has undertaken, among other things, skillful tactical steps. And it is not fortuitous that in Berlin it collected over 30 percent of the electorate's vote. In the south, however, the conservatives won.

[Agayants] Well, the success of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU], which managed to gain the majority vote seems quite convincing. The question, however, arises as to why this happened. It is hardly possible to give an unequivocal answer to it. A whole number of factors played a role here. The first and, perhaps, the most important of them all consists in the tactics chosen by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl at the elections. He conducted his pre- election campaign under the slogan which briefly amounts to this: If the electorate gives its preference to the CDU, the FRG will provide that country with generous economic help; if not, there will have to be a delay before money is supplied. And, of course, that emphasis on this material aspect of the matter delivered the goods. It is not fortuitous that when analyzing the results of the elections, many said that the electorate in the GDR voted for the West German Mark.

[Andrianov] Indeed, economic reasons were of main importance during the elections for a considerable proportion of the GDR population. Hoping in this respect for a speedy introduction of the West German Mark, they want to believe in the possibility of a rapid economic miracle. That does not mean, nevertheless, that the whole of the electorate voted for the CDU and supports its political concept concerning the unification of Germany. The [name indistinct] institute for the study of public opinion quotes figures showing that about 75 percent of the GDR's population are in favor of a unified Germany being demilitarized—something, I will say this right away, which is being rejected outright in Bonn.

[Vedenyapin] There is another thing to which I would like to draw your attention. Ever more distinctly one can feel the concern of a proportion of the GDR population over the consequences of a speedy unification which are advocated by the conservatives and their Bonn beneficiaries. It is not difficult to understand this alarm. There are many reasons for it. The experts are suggesting, for example, that the free market and the closure of unprofitable enterprises can leave 1.5 or 2 million people out of work. The peasantry issue is getting worse, too. It is not difficult to suppose that since the FRG has enormous surpluses of foodstuffs and high productivity in agriculture, wittingly or unwittingly it can doom peasants in the eastern part of Germany to destitution. And what about pensions? And to what extent will rents rise? And what will the medical services be like? One can continue the list of questions with which an ever greater number of citizens in the GDR are concerned.

[Agayants] Be that as it may, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich, the elections in the GDR have shown that a patent split—a division into two fractions—has occurred in the positions of its population. On the one side are those for an independent path of development; on the other, those favoring speedy unification with the FRG. This split is in evidence. It shows the extent to which citizens in the GDR are stirred up by the prospect of the two German states merging. The results of the elections have confirmed once again that any evidence of poor organization in life, political instability, provoke, as a rule, movement to the right. This is what has essentially happened in the GDR.

[Andrianov] What is also clear is this: Taking into account the powerful opposition of the left-wing forces, the process of unification of the GDR and the FRG will proceed in a more complex way than was supposed in Bonn.

[Vedenyapin] But in the meantime, on the banks of the Rhine they are patently trying to press and speed up the events. They suppose there that it will be possible to create a currency union with the GDR by 1 July this year. True, for this it will be necessary to resolve some essentially small matters—I am saying this in inverted comas of course—namely: immediately to transfer the GDR's economy to market forms, that is to ensure full entrepreneurial freedom, to introduce private ownership of land and means of production, to abolish foreign trade monopoly and to reorganize the tax system. Yet, it is not yet clear what the future government of the GDR will be like in its final shape. Although the conservatives have won at the elections, they have failed to gain an absolute majority to form the government. They need a coalition. Only in the event of having a two-thirds majority in the People's Chamber can they introduce the necessary changes to the constitution.

[Agayants] Generally speaking, economists who have more common sense, and representatives of business circles assess the plans for creating the currency union as unreal. In their view, the ambition of the politicians to achieve this goal as soon as possible will have a negative effect on the material position of citizens in the FRG itself and can bring about serious social unheavals in the GDR. After all, when creating the currency union it is practically impossible to do so without raising taxes in West Germany. I also believe that only to pay unemployment benefits, citizens of the GDR will require not less than 25 billion marks. In short, it is hardly possible to set up a currency union without implementing radical economic reforms in the GDR beforhand, something which will take not less than two or three years.

[Andrianov] Incidentally, in the FRG itself, the prospects of merging with its neighbors are provoking already now quite complex sentiments. Many West Germans do not hide their apprehensions that the unification of that country is threatening them with falling living standards. As a television commentator put it figuratively, the unity ship is loaded with social dynamite.

[Vedenyapin] In a word, they have many problems. Will the new government be able to prevent the degeneration of the country toward chaos in the conditions of comprehensive bitterness and intolerance? And do the CDU members in both German states realize that an enormous responsibility is upon them now? And will their judgements be sufficiently considered and sensible when they try to tackle the most acute problems of German unification, in particular, when determining the military and political status of a future Germany, a unified Germany? The answer to these questions determines not only its own future but also the future of the whole continent.

[Agayants] Incidentally, the German question was an object under discussion in the course of a recent conversation between Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State Baker. They confirmed the overall understanding of the responsibility of the USSR and the United States for a stable course of the European processes, taking into account the interests of all states, including with respect to the construction of German unity, and also their readiness to cooperate constructively in the framework of the four plus two mechanism. The heads of the foreign policy departments discussed this neither in Moscow nor in Washington. Their meeting was held in Windhoek where they arrived for the festivities in connection with the proclamation of Namibian independence.

[Passage omitted: Andrianov says Namibian independence was the most striking event of the week. Vedenyapin notes that it was the last of the former colonies. Agayants says it marks the end of a lengthy process, during which Pretoria challenged the international community, leading to SWAPO having to start armed action. Andrianov notes that the UN continually tried to get the problem resolved. Vedenyapin says success finally came last December with the trilateral agreement, which unblocked the crisis in southern Africa. Both U.S. Soviet efforts played a part in this. Agayants says the participants in the conflict also showed some topical flexibility. Andrianov recalls that Pretoria intends to continue occupying Walvis Bay. Vedenyapin notes that the UN has passed a resolution declaring Walvis Bay to be part of Namibia. It is now to be hoped that Pretoria will see sense. Agayants quotes Sam Nujoma as saying he wants disputes solved through talks. They would establish diplomatic relations with South Africa just as soon as apartheid is abolished. Andrianov wonders when this might come. There have been some positive developments recently, under pressure from internal democrtic movements and the resolve of the world community. Vedenyapin quotes Jesse Jackson as writing that international sanctions have played an important role in bringing about change. Agayants says one should rather see this as the effect of a whole complex of international pressure, which need to be kept up for some time, as Nelson Mandela has stressed. Andrianov concludes by remarking that this example shows that political solutions to international problems are possible]

European Bank Provokes U.S. 'Irritation'

PM2303112190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Yu. Kovalenko dispatch: "France—Principles and Structure"]

[Text] Paris—The path to the creation of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] has turned out to be a very thorny one. Some of the most important questions remain unresolved even now.

Some of them are connected with the Soviet Union's participation in the EBRD. Initially, the United States, with the active support of Britain, was categorically opposed to our membership of this bank, stating that it must be open only to those countries that opt firmly in favor of a market economy. Furthermore, British capital has particularly insisted on supplying credit through the EBRD exclusively to the private sector.

However, under pressure from other countries, primarily France, which actually proposed setting up the EBRD, Washington and London had to make concessions. First of all, they agreed to the Soviet Union's participating in the bank's activity side by side with other countries. An agreement was reached which stated that 60 percent of credits would go to the private sector and 40 percent to the state sector. Now the question of the size of the Soviet contribution to the common capital of the EBRD, expected to will be around 100 billion ECU's ($12 billion), is being discussed.

The question of the credit Moscow will possess in the EBRD is causing even greater arguments. "We do not want to be part of this bank if a significant part of its resources will be allocated for the Soviet Union," U.S. Treasury Secretary H. Brady stated recently. "We are in favor of the idea of their being allocated to democratic and pluralistic societies."

Our country has never viewed the EBRD exclusively as a source of loans and is in favor of equal rights and duties. Quite naturally, we do not want to limit ourselves to a donor role. According to the Paris LIBERATION, USSR Finance Minister V. Pavlov said during recent talks in Washington that the Soviet Union does not intend to join the bank in order to devour its capital, and that he believes that the EBRD should grant loans not to countries, but to organizations and projects.

This point of view is shared in many respects in Paris, where it is stressed that the EBRD will be the first joint institution of the "European confederation" of East and West which F. Mitterrand has proposed. A total of 51 percent of the capital will belong to the 12 EC countries, and around six percent to the Soviet Union; and, for the first time, observers note, the United States will not be able to control a multilateral financial organism.

This is causing irritation in Washington, which is persistently demanding that the EBRD capital be reduced and the proportion of American participation increased. In addition, the United States would like the dollar to be the unit of payment, and not the European Currency Unit (ECU).

Up to the present, 41 countries have announced their intention to take part in the EBRD and several Arab states, Israel, and South Korea have also recently joined the Americans and the Europeans. The question of the location of the future bank remains undecided—contenders include a score of Eastern and Western capitals. Finally, a fight has developed over who will be the president of the EBRD. Originally, there was no doubt that it would be headed by F. Mitterrand's special advisor Jacques Attali, who was the bank's founder and who drew up the concept for it. But another candidacy has just appeared—former Netherlands Finance Minister Onno Ruding.

As a result of all these unresolved problems, the opening of the EBRD has been rather delayed and, by all accounts, will not take place until the very end of this year at the earliest. A new round of talks with the participation of delegations of the 41 countries will take place 9 April in Paris.

Writer Urges Thought on All-European Home

LD2203100990 Moscow World Service in English 0810 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Ivan Ivanov writes in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA:

Supporters of Lithuania's immediate withdrawal from the USSR are hurrying so much to enter the all-European home that they fail to notice the door already slightly open and are prepared to smash it, together with the doorframe. [passage omitted] It would be worthwhile for us to think what place we are going to hold in the all-European home. We'll hardly be allowed to sit at the Christmas table. There is also the prospect to find ourselves in a draughty hall. Some are eager to challenge fate and cross the sea alone in a small boat; others are for sailing on board a big and steady ship.

But even a single seafarer has to put up with the international rules of navigation. While risking his life, he has no right to upset by his thoughtless maneuvers the navigation on sea and ocean lanes.

German Unity Problems Discussed at Meeting

LD2203100190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1215 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, 21 March (TASS)—TASS political observer Albert Balebanov writes:

The German question is today one of the most topical in world politics. It is being discussed both during bilateral contacts and at international forums and is widely commented on in the press of many countries, especially in Europe. U.S. President G. Bush devoted his telephone conversation yesterday with Chancellor H. Kohl to the prospects for the emergence of a united Germany. At the meeting in Paris between the presidents of Czechoslovakia and France, most of the talks were given over to the problem of the unification of the two German states. M. Eyskens, Belgian minister of foreign affairs, has put forward his own plan for settling the German question. The future of a united Germany was the subject of an exchange of views at the conference on economic cooperation in Europe which has opened in Bonn.

For the USSR, the key aspects of the process of German unification are military-strategic; the harsh consequences of Nazi aggression have still not been forgotten in our country. Therefore, people in the Soviet Union are very attentive to remarks made in the GDR and FRG to the effect that a united Germany will unswervingly abide by their obligations in accordance with international treaties. This means, in particular, that Germany will adhere to the spirit and letter of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nucelar arms, and to obligations relating to the Soviet-American INF treaty. The consent of Berlin and Bonn on the renunciation by a future united Germany of possession of weapons of mass destruction is also seen as of no small importance.

Nevertheless all this is far from the comprehensive guarantees on security that the Soviet Union would like to have. Soviet people are alarmed by the plans that are current in the West for drawing a unified Germany into NATO. Such intentions are unacceptable for our country, and Moscow is entitled to count on the West's taking the concern of Soviet people into consideration.

In the Soviet Union attention has been drawn to the fact that various circles in the FRG are now discussing various options for a possible compromise on this matter, in particular, the possibility of the non-participation of a unified Germany in NATO, the demilitarization of Germany, and others. The best solution, of course, would be the creation of new structures of European security. This presents itself, as it were, as the other side of the coin, which in its completed form would suit everyone, including the Germans themselves. The USSR respects the efforts of the Germans to obtain peace treaty terms that would not humiliate their national dignity. In this respect it seems that the best forum for drawing up a peace treaty could be the planned summit meetings within the framework of the Helsinki process.

Moscow has grave doubts over the arguments of Western politicians who claim that a unified Germany will not be a military threat, if it is within the NATO system. From our viewpoint a Germany outside blocs, together with a new system of collective security, would be the best guarantee of stability in Europe. After all the non-participation of China or India in blocs does not bring about a threat to international security.

The military-political aspects of the future status of a unified Germany should be decided in a single package and with account being taken of the legitimate interests of the four great powers and the neighbors of the Germans. It seems that the German issue should nudge interested parties into pondering how to create an effective collective security system and when to bring it into operation. In this respect there is no getting by without such an instrument as the new political thinking. The USSR is ready for quests in this area, which is shown by the out-of-the-ordinary path it has proposed for solving the external aspects of German unification. Is it not time also for the West to take a look at the German problem from the viewpoint of a renunciation of blocs, if everything in Europe is changing quickly and radically?

United States & Canada

President Bush Declares Support for Lithuania

LD2303205890 Moscow TASS in English 2047 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Washington March 23 TASS—Addressing representatives of U.S. regional mass media bodies here today, President George Bush declared that the United States supports Lithuania's right to self-determination and called for "realistic and level-headed leadership" on all sides.

"The United States stands with them (Lithuanians—TASS) and supports their right to self-determination. This is a complex and sensitive time when realistic, level-headed leadership is required on all sides," he said.

"Lithuanian leaders have consistently demonstrated their capacity in this regard, and the United States will do nothing that will make their tasks more difficult."

Bush stressed that his administration "repeatedly urged the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government, to enter into immediate negotiations with the Lithuanian Government."

"We know that the Soviet Union has a longstanding interest in Lithuania, and these interests can only be addressed through dialogue and negotiation," he added.

"Any attempt to coerce or intimidate or forcibly intervene against the Lithuanian people is bound to backfire—that is inevitable," Bush said. In his replies to questions, Bush said that he had no reports about any actions in Lithuania, but that the situation there remained tense.

He expressed hope that this tension will be removed through negotiations.

Observer Notes Cheney's Remarks on Lithuania

LD2303192790 Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] The American Defense Secretary Richard Cheney has warned that any Soviet military action against Lithuania would risk the U.S.-Soviet [words indistinct]. Our observer [not further identified] believes that this statement by the Pentagon's chief aims at hindering bilateral ties, which have taken so much effort to establish.

Mr. Cheney should know that President Gorbachev, the Soviet Government and Parliament have been doing all they can to settle the situation in Lithuania through a dialogue on a legal platform. The Soviet Parliament has been drafting legislation to delimit the competence of the union and republics and define the republics' rights and procedure to secede from the USSR. All these matters are this country's internal affairs. This naturally fully applies to the situation that has emerged in the wake of the events in Lithuania. Instability in that republic is borne out by widespread demonstrations by ethnic Russians and secession opponents. There is the danger of unlawful actions by extremists. The recent events in Transcaucasia show how important it is for the central authorities to act swiftly to curb human rights violations in separate republics or regions.

The measures being carried out are in line with President Gorbachev's decree aimed at avoiding such developments in Lithuania, when mounting tension in society could endanger the population.

However, the U.S. defence secretary is apparently least of all interested in protecting human rights and Soviet citizens' property. His statement can only provoke extremist and reckless actions in Lithuania.

Mr. Cheney has assumed an improper mission to meddle in the Soviet Union's internal affairs. Only those who are opposed to halting the arms race can link the arms reduction treaties to the developments in the Soviet Union. Isn't the U.S. defence secretary unaware that the Soviet people are interested in the treaties on control over nuclear and other weapons as much as the Americans?

U.S. 'Restraint, Caution' on Lithuania Cited

PM2403225590 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 25 Mar 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Restraint and Caution. White House Press Secretary Briefing"]

[Text] Events in Lithuania are evoking a mixed reaction in the world. On the one hand it has to be frankly admitted that many foreign politicians and mass media welcome the separatist moods in Lithuania. On the other hand, profound concern has also been expressed that the republic's withdrawal from the USSR would seriously damage the Soviet state and our perestroyka processes.

It is no accident when even Radio Liberty amicably cites the remarks of Hungarian Foreign Minister Horn in an interview for Hungary's MTI agency that a rapid disintegration of the USSR would be a threat to the stability not just of Europe but the whole world. The secession of individual republics from the USSR would hamper the implementation of Gorbachev's reforms. According to Horn, the Hungarian Government, which is headed by socialists, does not share Lithuania's attitude.

The Indian newspaper PATRIOT notes that Lithuania's decision may serve as a precedent for the secession of other Soviet republics, and especially the Baltic republics. This must be causing concern to the Soviet leaderhip because without the adoption of constructive and mutually advantageous decisions on this question the situation may seriously deteriorate. The West German newspaper FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE notes with understanding the USSR Government's decision on the adoption of a number of measures to retain control over enterprises in Lithuania and to ensure security at key installations.

Many agencies, while expressing concern as to the future development of events, are emphasizing that Moscow is seeking to tackle the pressing problems in a calm atmosphere so as to avoid possible complications. A correspondent of the U.S. NBC-TV network cites the remarks of USSR Foreign Minister E. Shevardnadze in Windhoek: "We are against the use of force anywhere, and especially inside our own country."

A briefing in Washington at which Marlin Fitzwater, the White House press secretary, read out a statement on Lithuania and answered journalists' questions was a vivid example of restraint in assessing the situation in Lithuania, of understanding of the whole complexity of the problems which have arisen, and of caution. We reproduce below an abridged version of the record of the briefing which we have received via TASS:

Question: Marlin, you are constantly referring to the Government of Lithuania as if Lithuania were a foreign state. Is this how the United States sees the Government of Lithuania?

Answer: We have never recognized the incorporation of Lithuania in the Soviet Union and we are viewing events in this context.

Question: But in the last few days you have not referred to them as the "Government of Lithuania."

Answer: This does not mark a change in policy.

Question: Does your policy consist of not recognizing the Government of Lithuania as part of the Soviet Union?

Answer: There has been no change.

Question: You have not formally recognized this government?

Answer: There has been no change in policy.

Question: So what does the Government of Lithuania represent as such?

Answer: I do not understand your question...

Question: Moscow claims that it is in control in Lithuania, so that if you...

Answer: But there is a power in Lithuania.

Question: Yes, there is a power which has declared itself the government of independent Lithuania. Is it them you are addressing?

Answer: Well, of course.

Question: This poses the question of de facto diplomatic recognition, am I not right?

Answer: No, this is not de facto recognition. There has been no change in policy.

Question: Have there been any contacts at diplomatic level with the Government of Lithuania? Have our people from the Leningrad Consulate talked to them?

Answer: I have no knowledge of any contacts.

Question: You have said that a more complex situation may arise as a result of intimidation and heightened tension. Do you consider that an atmosphere of intimidation already exists or that it could arise?

Answer: No, we used the subjunctive in our statement. That means that should that happen, we would view it in precisely that context, but we have deemed it necessary not to draw any conclusions.

Questions: If the Soviet Union used force against Lithuania, what would the U.S. reaction be?

Answer: We do not make assumptions on hypothetical situations.

Question: Do not Soviet troop movements cast a shadow over the meeting between Bush and Gorbachev? Might this not entail consequences which might affect the meeting?

Answer: No, I don't believe so. Secretary of State Baker and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will broach the issue at the highest level in the course of their upcoming talks. However, at present I do not believe that this may cast a shadow over the meeting.

Question: While in Namibia Shevardnadze has said that only forces permanently stationed in Lithuania are currently on its territory, that no new troops have been introduced.

Answer: We have nothing to add to this at the moment.

Question: Do you deny the right of the Soviet Union to deploy troops in Lithuania?

Answer: I have no comment.

Question: What should the Soviet Union do to alleviate the concern which you have expressed?

Answer: It should act in accordance with our... Our interests have been set out.

Question: Speaking in general terms, would the use of force against Lithuania affect U.S.-Soviet relations, which have been improving over recent months?

Answer: I cannot comment on this, I do not know.

Question: Discussing the situation in the Baltic republics, you have avoided the term "internal affairs." Has the administration stopped using this term? Do you no longer regard this as an internal affair of Gorbachev's?

Answer: Our policy has undergone no change.

Fitzwater was asked the following question: "A new NATO report has been drawn up which states that perestroyka has failed and that the likely development of events in the Soviet Union is a collapse of the government and civil war. Does this correspond to U.S. assessments?"

Answer: Well, everyone has a right to his own opinion. We believe that perestroyka and glasnost have been very useful for the West and that they have been quite successful in many respects. We hope that they will continue to be successful. We want to support President Gorbachev in these efforts, and hope that his reforms will continue.

Gorbachev Begins Talks With Senator Kennedy

LD2603134490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Talks between USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, and Edward Kennedy, chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources of the U.S. Congress, began in the Kremlin today. The senator arrived in Moscow yesterday on a visit which is expected to last three days. In a brief talk with journalists Kennedy said he hopes to use his fourth trip to the USSR for a broad exchange of ideas both with the leadership of the country and with individual citizens. He also said that before leaving for Moscow he met with U.S. President George Bush; during their conversation they discussed questions that may be touched on at the meetings he will have with the USSR president and other Soviet leaders. Eduard Kennedy expressed hope that, while in Moscow, he will have an opportunity to discuss with the Soviet leadership further steps that could be taken by the USSR and the United States in the sphere of arms control, human rights, economic life, trade, and scientific-technical exchanges.

Gorbachev Receives U.S. Teachers, Admiral Crowe

PM2603082990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian Second Edition 24 Mar 90 p 1

[TASS report: "President's Meetings"]

[Text] President Mikhail Gorbachev today met two American women: Teacher Mary Bicouvaris, 1989 National Teacher of the Year, and Darlene Pierce, coordinator of this competition. The winner receives a prize from the President of the United States.

A similar competition is to be held in the Soviet Union for the first time this year. The winner will be presented with a prize by the Soviet president.

The conversation was open and cordial and touched upon many subjects. It was the extention of Gorbachev's contacts with American intellectuals, with teachers and students.

The education systems in the two countries were compared. Gorbachev spoke about the role the teacher plays in the life of society, particularly now that generations which will be building a new world and will live in it are being educated.

The teacher and the school are essential. There is no social institution as flexible and close to people as the school. Soviet teachers are now living through difficult times. Perestroyka requires considerable changes in man's moral and spiritual make-up. In the long run, it depends on the teacher what results perestroyka will have in all areas.

If there is a new sower, then there will be a new harvest. The teacher's age is not essential. What matters is his ability to be always young at heart and to keep abreast of the times. It is of immense importance for our transformations that the majority of teachers sincerely and ardently accept perestroyka.

Mary Bicouvaris said she believed the essence of education was that young people should be strong, capable, and view the earth as the legacy of all humanity. Gorbachev went along with this view and asked, as a joke, to convey this to President Bush. When everybody agrees with this, the world will be finally transformed.

Your President and I, he continued, cooperate well and rely on the fact that the American and the Soviet peoples regard themselves as part of one and the same world. And when this attitude spreads to politics, there is greater hope for embarking on a peaceful period in the history of the civilisation.

We are now at the crucial stage. This is not a spontaneous process. There is a need for great efforts and constant encouragement. There is a need for the awareness that the world is brittle and can be destroyed by a nuclear, ecological, or technological disaster. This is now realised not only by great minds. This has been grasped by millions. Hence the progress. But everything is still ahead, even though some important achievements have already been made.

Combining politics and morality is the most topical task. Many troubles, also in the present period, resulted from the fact that politicians neglected morality. Teachers, intellectuals play an important role in ensuring that this does not happen.

Gorbachev dwelt on the contribution of the Soviet intelligentsia to perestroika, including the political process, and to the development of Soviet-American relations.

The American educators summed up their impressions from their stay in Moscow, Leningrad, Novosibirsk, and from their contacts with school pupils and with Soviet colleagues.

So much has happened in a few years if from viewing each other as an enemy we have advanced to a stage when you, American women, feel at home in the USSR, Gorbachev concluded.

The talks were attended by G.A. Yagodin, V.V. Ryabov, and G.N. Seleznev.

The meeting with the American teachers went beyond the protocol framework, and Admiral Crowe, former chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, had to wait until the president was free for a conversation with him. Everybody thought this symbolic. The admiral himself accepted this with a sense of humour and understanding.

This was not Gorbachev's first meeting with William Crowe. This time Crowe came to the USSR as a guest. He visited various places and familiarised himself with the progress of perestroyka. A considerable part of their rather brief conversation was devoted to the problems and difficulties encountered by perestroyka.

At the admiral's request, Gorbachev summed up the processes in the country. He explained why some problems which seem to have caught attention long ago, are, in the opinion of critics, being resolved slowly. We do not know how to go about many things and we have to learn.

And it is not simple for a country of many millions to learn new ways, a country which got accustomed to certain forms of life over decades. This takes time and patience. There is no other way to advance along the new road, and perestroika has become the destiny of the country which came up against a wall, having nowhere else to go.

With regard to critics, the admiral quoted a remark of Churchill that people who know answers to all questions are usually not in government.

The conversation dwelt on the forthcoming Soviet-American summit meeting, on relations between the two countries, on different views in the United States as regards the situation in the Soviet Union and on political calculations that are not always realistic.

On the whole, it is not in vain that we have embarked on a difficult undertaking of achieving mutual understanding between our two countries, Gorbachev said. We now begin to reap the fruit. And Admiral Crowe is one of those whom I respect for contributing to the construction of new relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Thorough, multi-faceted preparations for the Washington meeting are under way. Similar preparations are apparently being conducted by the U.S. Administration. We hope for balanced decisions which may make the year 1990 a historic year. The stakes are very high, and we are preparing for very major work.

Gorbachev asked Crowe to convey his greetings to President George Bush. Marshal Akhromeyev participated in the conversation.

U.S. Admiral Crowe Continues Visit to USSR

Visits Odessa, Meets Generals

PM2303101790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Mar 90 First Edition p 3

[report by correspondent Colonel N. Mulyar: "Touring the Country"]

[Text] U.S. Admiral W. Crowe, in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions, has visited Odessa. He met with the Odessa Military District command, talked with a group of generals from Odessa Military District headquarters, visited a motorized rifle division, and familiarized himself with the sights of the hero-city.

Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev accompanied the guest on the tour.

Addresses Parliamentarians

LD2103230390 Moscow TASS in English 1357 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—Admiral William Crowe, former chairman of the U.S. Chiefs of Staff committee, said today that Soviet and American military men should help their leaders find solutions to the serious problems confronting them. The admiral, who is now in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Defence and State Security Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet, addressed members of this committee and the parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee in the Kremlin.

Crowe expressed satisfaction with the progress made by both sides in arms control and described Soviet and American steps to reduce the armed forces as most promising. Noting the complexity of the tasks involved, he stressed that the Soviet and American military could play a positive role in this top-priority area.

Turning to the situation on the European Continent, Crowe stressed the United States' firm intention to maintain and further its ties with NATO. Despite radical changes on Europe's military map, he said, NATO still remains a cornerstone of U.S. security. The admiral believes that in the light of the rapid changes in East European countries, NATO is still the mechanism that contributes to the stability of the European process.

Crowe dwelt on Germany's reunification. He noted that the solution of the German issue should take into account the interests of other European states too. At the same time, the admiral expressed the view that it was necessary to promote Germany's further participation in European institutions and in NATO.

The USSR Foreign Ministry stated on March 13 that the Soviet Union was against the extension of West Germany's international commitments to the GDR and opposed to the inclusion of a united Germany in NATO.

Meets Bessmertnykh, Others

LD2303184190 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh today received the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral William Crowe.

They discussed Soviet-American military and political relations and the current situation in Europe.

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov and Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev took part in the conversation.

Holds News Conference

LD2303184590 Moscow TASS in English 1831 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—Former Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff William Crowe was received today by President Mikhail Gorbachev.

The admiral is visiting the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Defence and State Security Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Crowe said at a news conference that it was a fine meeting, which passed on an optimistic note. They spoke about future relations between the USSR and the United States, progress in arms control and the future of perestroyka.

Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, a member of the Soviet parliamentary committee, took part in the news conference.

Asked about the destiny of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation in view of the changes in central Europe, Akhromeyev stressed the need to reduce the military importance of these alliances, which should result in greater stability on the continent.

Akhromeyev opposed a future united Germany's integration into NATO, stressing that this move would help increase NATO's military might and, consequently, increase instability.

Admiral Crowe, conversely, favoured a united Germany within NATO, but specified that the solution of this issue was linked not only with Germany. He added, at the same time, that NATO should not necessarily remain as a military organisation. Crowe said that there were political alternatives to this.

Crowe and Akhromeyev said that during the talks they discussed various issues of cutting nuclear and conventional armaments, including the problem of naval forces reduction. Akhromeyev noted with regret that there was still not much common ground in the sides' positions on this issue.

Akhromeyev stressed that the USSR did not claim equality with the United States in the field of naval armaments, and noted the need to consider this problem not only from the point of view of the United States' interests. "As we live in an interrelated world, the other sides' interests should apparantly be taken into account with greater detail," Akhromeyev noted.

Asked what measures will be taken by Soviet authorities against Lithuanian servicemen who deserted from their units, Akhromeyev answered: "I think that this will be done according to the USSR laws."

Comments on Yazov, Moiseyev Meetings

PM2603114590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Mar 90 First Edition p 1

[Colonel V. Markushin report: "Conversations at USSR Defense Ministry"]

[Text] U.S. Admiral W. Crowe, who is completing a visit to the Soviet Union, has been received by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, and Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff.

At the end of the meetings, your KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent asked asked Admiral Crowe for his impressions of his conversations with Soviet military leaders. The admiral's comments were succinct. The conversations took place in a very favorable and frank spirit, he said. And this strengthens his optimism regarding the continuation of U.S.-Soviet military contacts as a whole.

USSR-U.S. Military Commission Meets 9-16 Mar

LD2103230690 Moscow TASS in English 1442 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—An announcement was issued here today that the first meeting of the Joint Military Commission, set up on agreement between the Soviet and American Governments to prevent dangerous military activities, would be held [verb tense as received] in the United States from March 9 to 16.

The delegations have discussed the fulfilment of this agreement, which came into force on January 1, 1990. They noted there were no dangerous incidents during the period under review and reached agreement on principal organisational and procedural matters linked with the commission's further work. It was agreed to hold periodical verification of communication channels in the regime of day-to-day army activities.

The meeting passed in a friendly and constructive atmosphere.

U.S. Grants Most-Favored-Nation Status to USSR

LD2203111590 Moscow TASS in English 0812 GMT 22 Mar 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Matyash]

[Text] Washington March 22 TASS—In a sign of further superpower cooperation, President Bush said Washington plans to expand trade with the Soviet Union by granting it most favored nation trade status.

In a report on national security strategies to the Congress, Bush said the United States will work to conclude a new American-Soviet trade and economic agreement and will support granting observer status to the Soviet Union in the General Argeement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT).

Bush also said the two countries were discussing a bilateral agreement on investment.

He said his administration supports Soviet political and economic reforms and wants them to succeed.

Bush was echoed by Trade Secretary Robert Mosbacher, who said in an interview with a magazine from the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Trade and Economic Council (USTEC) that U.S. businesses showed a growing interest in developing trade with the Soviet Union.

Expanded trade between the two countries will help promote bilateral relations and understanding, he said.

Dwayne Andreas, U.S. co-chairman of the USTEC and president of the Archer Daniels Midland Co., said in an interview with TASS that he agrees with Mosbacher.

The time has come to remove obstacles hampering successful bilateral trade, including the Jackson-Vanik Amendment denying the Soviet Union most favored nation status, and technology export limitations, he said.

The U.S. President should place trade with the Soviet Union on an equal basis, allowing the U.S. to refocus its attention from the useless arms race to fruitful bilateral cooperation, he said.

Bessmertnykh, U.S. Businessman Discuss Trade

PM2203094190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Conversation Held"]

[Text] A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, received T. Miner, prominent U.S. businessman and chairman of the Chicago "Mid-America" committee, on 20 March. During the conversation they discussed specific means of developing Soviet-U.S. trade and economic relations, including regional cooperation between the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and the states of the American Midwest.

Further on U.S. National Security Report

PM2203150790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Mar 90 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "U.S. National Strategy Report"]

[Text] Washington, 21 Mar—U.S. President G. Bush has sent the "U.S. National Security Strategy" report to Congress. This document sets forth the basic principles of foreign and military policy and lists the goals and tasks of the United States right through the end of this century.

"The international landscape is marked by truly breathtaking changes," President Bush's accompanying statement points out. "Our national security strategy reflects those changes. We have reached the stage where historic opportunities have opened up before us, but "continuing uncertainties and new dangers still pose a threat to U.S. interests and values." [quotation marks as published] It emphasizes that "unquestionable priority" is given to the U.S. strategic relationship with the Soviet Union. "The Soviet Union's fuller integration into the broad community of nations" is named as one of the Washington administration's chief tasks.

Touching on questions of long-term military policy, Bush pointed out that the United States "intends to reduce its armed forces somewhat and to make them more mobile and better adapted to possible actions in any circumstances and conditions." "Maintaining considerable nuclear and conventional arms in Europe as long as they are needed and as long as our allies desire their presence as an element in joint defense, we will work in the name of a new Europe, truly integral and free," he continues. The report confirms U.S. commitment to implementing "an arms control agenda that is now broader than ever" with a view to reaching agreements on the reduction of strategic arms, conventional armed forces and arms in Europe, and chemical weapons already this year.

Pointing to the "improving climate" in East-West relations, President Bush declared: "Our relationship with the Soviet Union remains a strategic priority because that country is still the other military superpower. Even as tensions ease and armed forces are reduced on both sides, maintaining the global strategic balance undoubtedly remains an object of U.S. concern; there is no substitute for our efforts in this sphere. Our goal is to move beyond the policy of containment and to seek the Soviet Union's inclusion in the international system as a constructive partner. For the first time since the war, this goal seems to be attainable."

The document also points out that the United States will seek to establish a relationship with the Soviet Union which "will increasingly become a relationship of cooperation."

Even if the U.S.-Soviet relationship remains a relationship of rivalry, the report points out, it can be made far more secure. "We will seek effective, monitorable arms control agreements with the Soviet Union and other accords as an inalienable component of our security strategy. At the same time, whatever course the Soviet Union takes over the next decade, it will remain a strong military power. The United States must continue to maintain a modern defense potential that will strengthen deterrence and ensure security. However, the Soviet leadership and the Soviet people should realize that this caution is based on uncertainty, not on hostility."

Northeast Asia

ROK's Kim Yong-sam Urges Diplomatic Ties on Visit

Sitaryan, Kim Discuss Relations

LD2303224190 Moscow TASS in English 1542 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—Stepan Sitaryan, chairman of the USSR Ccouncil of Ministers' State Foreign Economic Commission, today received Kim Yong-sam, co-chairman of the South Korean Democratic Liberal Party.

They exchanged views on prospects for developing commercial and economic ties between Soviet enterprises and organisations and South Korean companies and organisations. Both sides express interest in boosting these ties.

Kim Cited on Purpose of Visit

LD2403001790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] As we have already reported, Kim Yong-sam, chairman of the Democratic Liberal Party [DLP] of South Korea, has arrived in the USSR for a visit. Listen to an interview which he gave to our correspondent Sergey Grachev:

[Grachev] Kim Yong-sam is considered in South Korea today to be one of the best-known politicians. He heads the ruling DLP and is in favor of the development of business contacts and cooperation between our two countries. A representative delegation of South Korean businessmen has come to Moscow with Kim Yong-sam. So, what is the aim of the present visit? I put this question to DLP Chairman Kim Yong-sam:

Our delegation has come to the USSR, says Kim Yong-sam, in order to continue the dialogue between our two countries. Today it is essential to develop contacts in the sphere of trade and economic cooperation. We know that the USSR is now facing vast difficulties in its economy. On the other hand, my collocutor continues, many South Korean businessmen have recently been displaying increased interest in the development of economic links with the USSR. I think that there are still many obstacles in the way of expanding bilateral cooperation. Thus, for example, the creation of joint Soviet-South Korean enterprises is still connected with resolving certain difficulties. We would like to have complete and precise guarantees from the Soviet side. For the normal development to trade and economic cooperation it is also necessary to establish diplomatic relations. We consider that the economy should not be separated from politics.

I am among the politicians who support Gorbachev's policy, says Kim Yong-sam. I think that the present trip around the USSR will promote the expansion of our relations which will, in the final analysis, play an important role in the resolution of the problem of the Korean peninsula, said Kim Yong-sam, chairman of the DLP in conclusion.

USSR 'Already Decided' on Ties

SK2403072390 Seoul YONHAP in English 0647 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, March 24 (YONHAP)—The possibility is growing that diplomatic relations between South Korea and the Soviet Union could be established this year since Seoul and Moscow have agreed in principle on the matter and decided to discuss its procedure and timing later.

South Korean officials in Moscow with Kim Yong-sam, co-leader of the ruling party, said Saturday [24 March] they understand that the Soviet Union has already decided to establish diplomatic relations with South Korea.

Kim is on an eight-day visit here to discuss with Soviet leaders the establishment of diplomatic relations and deepen economic cooperation between the two countries.

His official entourage includes senior government and Democratic Liberal Party (DLP) officials, notably First State Minister for Political Affairs Pak Chol-on.

"The Soviet Union, however, is carefully studying when to announce its decision because it is difficult to announce at present," they said.

Kong No-myong, head of the Korean consular department in Moscow, said the Soviet Union has decided in principle to set up diplomatic relations with Korea although the timing has yet to be fixed.

Soviet officials told Kim that Moscow will make a "political decision," which means that they have resolved to establish diplomatic ties with Seoul, Kong told Korean reporters.

The Soviet Union takes the position that diplomatic relations should be a prerequisite for economic cooperation because it cannot conclude investment guarantee and double taxation avoidance agreements with a country with which it does not maintain diplomatic ties, he said.

Meanwhile, Vladlen Martynov, director of the Soviet Institute for World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), hinted at that diplomatic ties between the two countries are nearing when he said Kong will be "ambassador extraordinary-plenipotentiary to Moscow in the near future."

Martynov, who invited Kim to Moscow, made the remark during a reception Friday at a Moscow hotel.

Kim Interviewed on Goals of Visit

SK2603054190 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Report on IZVESTIYA's interview with Kim Yong-sam from the "Focus on Asia" Program—date and place not given]

[Text] Members of an ROK delegation are still rare guests in the Soviet Union. There are many reasons for this, but the political reason is the main reason. This is why the visit to Moscow this time by Kim Yong-sam, coleader of the Democratic Liberal Party, the ruling party of the Republic of Korea, has aroused overall repercussions in the Soviet Union. Despite his tight itinerary in Moscow Kim Yong-sam responded to an IZVESTIYA reporter's request for an interview. The following is the summary of the interview with Kim Yong-sam.

[Question] What is the purpose of your visit to Moscow?

[Answer] The main purpose of my visit is to find ways for the continuous expansion of ties in various fields between the two independent countries and to contribute to normalizing relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Korea. I think that our country should adopt bold and large-scale decisions in its economic cooperation with the Soviet Union. This is a task whose time has come. In this, [words indistinct] in immediately establishing diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. However, I firmly believe that our relations in all fields should be established on a firm foundation.

[Question] Relations between the Soviet Union and the ROK [passage indistinct]. [Words indistinct] depends on dialogue between [words indistinct]. How do you evaluate the future prospects of the relations [words indistinct]?

[Answer] I know that the Soviet Union cannot but recognize the regime existing in North Korea [pukhan]. Keenly watching the situation in North Korea we cannot but see that North Korea's evaluation of the world's situation for 40 years will not change. It seems that North Korea is the only country where there is no flexible policy.

Not long ago, the DPRK began to speak of the possiblity of dialogue with South Korea [namchoson]. Contacts began with South Korea in various levels. Of course, these contacts were suspended recently [words indistinct]. The changes taking place in East European countries cannot but affect North Korea.

If relations between the Soviet Union and the ROK are normalized North Korea will have to change its stand toward the changes taking place in the world today. Maintaining friendly relations with all countries of the world is the beginning of our external policy. I believe that our embassies will open in [words indistinct] countries. Therefore, we view the development of relations with such countries as the Soviet Union and China to be particularly important.

This has been the summary of Kim Yong-sam's interview with an IZVESTIYA reporter.

Kim Stresses Ties in University Talk

LD2403234990 Moscow TASS in English 2121 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—Kim Yong-sam, co-chairman of the ruling Democratic Liberal Party of South Korea, spoke today in favour of establishing diplomatic relations between the USSR and South Korea as soon as possible. He is staying on a visit in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Speaking before students and teachers of Moscow State University, Kim Yong-sam expressed high appreciation of the policy of radical changes, pursued by the Soviet Union on the initiative of Mikhail Gorbachev. He also expressed hope of the success of perestroyka which, in his opinion, "meets the interests of a peaceful unification of Korea and the establishment of peace and prosperity in the world."

He pointed out that Soviet-South Korean economic relations have been developing successfuly of late. In 1987 their trade turnover was $200 million, while the figure for 1989 was $600 million. Cultural relations are also developing. All this is the result of new thinking in the Soviet Union, he said.

Stressing the connection between the economic and political aspects of interstate relations, Kim Yong-sam called for their "synchronous development." He believes that Soviet-South Korean cooperation should go together with multilateral cooperation of all countries of the Asia-Pacific region, including the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. He pointed out that this idea is consonant with Soviet initiatives on ensuring peace in Asia, that were put forward by Gorbachev, and said that their implementation would promote the realisation of the cherished dream of the Korean people—the unification of Korea.

Kim Yong-sam stressed that the unification should be carried out peacefully, on the basis of the development of exchanges and economic cooperation between the DPRK and South Korea.

Kim, Institute To Work for Ties

SK2603120790 Seoul YONHAP in English 1156 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, March 26 (YONHAP)—Visiting South Korean ruling party officials and the Soviet Institute for World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO) have agreed to work for the early establishment of diplomatic relations between South Korea and the Soviet Union.

A joint statement signed by Kim Yong-sam, a co-leader of South Korea's ruling Democratic Liberal Party (DLP), and Vladlen Martynov, Director of the IMEMO, Monday said that the two sides have finished preparatory works essential to the normalization of the relations between the two countries.

The statement, which was adopted a day before Kim and his entourage leave Moscow after an eight-day visit to the Soviet Union, also said the two sides have agreed on the view that the two countries are desired to have ministerial-level talks at an earlier date to seek ways to solve the problems which are now hampering economic cooperation between their countries.

The two sides agreed to promote science ministers meeting between the two countries to discuss exchanges of scholars and academic information and cooperation in research field between the Soviet academy of sciences and South Korea's advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST).

The statement also expressed a hope that the ruling parties of the two countries establish cooperative relations with each other to enhance cooperations in the political field.

The statement stressed that the South Korea-Soviet relations should not hurt the interests of the third party, thereby hinting that the efforts to improve Seoul-Moscow relations should not be handled in such a manner as to inflict adverse impacts on existing friendship between the Soviet Union and North Korea.

It said that an improved relation between South Korea and the Soviet Union will be conducive to the promotion of South-North dialogue in the Korean peninsula.

Kim, who came here accompanied by an 11-man entourage at the invitation of the IMEMO, meanwhile, said in a press conference following the signing of the statement, "I've found a great possibility of establishing diplomatic ties between Seoul and Moscow. There is no insurmountable obstacle in the path for the ties."

Earlier in the day, Kim agreed with officials of the supreme Soviet to inaugurate a friendship association between the parliaments of the two countries.

Officials Say Gorbachev May Reply to No's Letter

SK2603015390 Seoul YONHAP in English 0141 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, March 26 (YONHAP)—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev might reply to a personal message from South Korean President No Tae-u through Korean officials visiting Moscow, the officials said Sunday.

A reply would be an important advance in Seoul-Moscow relations, boosting the chances of setting up diplomatic ties, which South Korea has actively sought, at an early date, they said.

No's letter to Gorbachev was handed to a high-ranking Soviet official at a meeting last Thursday attended by Pak Chol-on, the first state minister for political affairs, who is accompanying ruling party co-leader Kim Yong-sam on his eight-day official trip to the Soviet Union, the officials said.

"We expect the Soviet Union to answer No's message," they said.

It is uncertain if Gorbachev will refer to the normalization of diplomatic ties with Korea in his reply.

Pak, the influential architect of No's northern policy of improving ties with socialist countries, told Korean reporters that the Soviet Union is expected to give a concrete answer to "some proposals by the Korean side" before Kim leaves Moscow on Tuesday.

Pak confirmed that Korea officially proposed that the two nations immediately establish diplomatic relations and suggested that if they find it difficult to do immediately they form a cooperative body of government officials led by a cabinet minister from each side to simultaneously discuss establishing diplomatic relations and economic cooperation.

ROK Official Denies Existence of 'Concrete Wall'

SK2303040590 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] The Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland of the DPRK called for the steel-reinforced concrete wall built in the area south of the Military Demarcation Line [MDL] to be pulled down. How has Seoul responded to this proposal?

Commenting on this, Mr Kong No-myong, director of the ROK consular department under the direct control of the Korea Trade Promotion Association Mission in Moscow which has just begun its operation, told a reporter of the weekly magazine MOSKOVSKIY NOVOSTI as follows:

In our country, there is no such thing as a steel-reinforced concrete wall similar to the Berlin wall. We have antitank facilities, trenches, and some barriers in the areas along the MDL that serves as defensive [word indistinct].

The ROK Foreign Ministry invited a TASS correspondent based in Tokyo to visit the spot in a bid to convince the (?social sectors) of this.

In this regard, I would like to remind you of the following facts: There have been no ties or contacts between the North and South since our country was divided in two and the people in the North and South have not been able to write to or talk to each other on the telephone.

Already the ROK has welcomed, with satisfaction, the remarks by Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze that the North and South need dialogue between them. Toward this end, we are willing to pull out all the stops and hold high-level talks without any preconditions.

Our effort to reunify the fatherland [words indistinct] is a difficult and longterm task. So, what we propose is to reunify the country on the condition that the different systems remain intact, instead of proposing to establish a North-South confederal system in the first place.

Such a practical [word indistinct] will make all the people choose what they think is in their interest. Only last week we put forward such a proposal to North Korea [as heard]. It is expected to contribute to reunifying Korea.

Mr Kong No-myong said: To speak of the Soviet Union, we have confidence in Soviet policies.

ROK Participation in 'Rimpac' To Create Friction

SK2503045890 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 24 Mar 90

[From the "Asian News" segment of the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] The ROK Naval forces will participate in "Rimpac," a multinational military exercise, for the first time. According to the Defense Ministry in Seoul, two destroyers left for the Pacific coast of the United States. The "Rimpac" military exercise will be conducted in the Pacific waters covering the area from California to the Hawaii islands from 2 April to 20 May. Participating in this military exercise will be some 50 warships, 250 fighter planes, and some 50,000 troops from the United States, Canada, Australia, and Japan. This military exercise began in (?1982).

The ROK participation in this military exercise will create new friction with its neighbor.

The "Team Spirit" military exercise was concluded only yesterday. The DPRK regarded this military exercise as one that threatens peace.

Gorbachev Congratulates New Mongolian Leader

LD2403102190 Moscow TASS in English 0959 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev sent a message to Punsalmagiyin Ochirbat, cordially congratulating him on his election to the post of chairman of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic.

"The Soviet Union is convinced that the traditional all-round Soviet-Mongolian cooperation will become even more fruitful now that the processes of restructuring and renewal are under way in our countries," Gorbachev's message says, among other things.

Ryzhkov Congratulates Mongolian Premier

LD2403102490 Moscow TASS in English 1000 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov sent a message to Sharavyn Gongadorzh on the occasion of his appointment to premiership of the Mongolian People's Republic.

Ryzhkov expressed the hope that the traditional Soviet-Mongolian relations of friendship and cooperation would continue to broaden and deepen for the good of the Soviet and Mongolian peoples.

Great Hural Session Concludes 23 Mar

LD2303221290 Moscow TASS in English 2129 GMT 23 Mar 90

[By TASS correspondent Dugar Sanzhiyev]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar March 23 TASS—The eighth session of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic ended here today. Deputies considered a whole package of bills meant to ensure a further development of democratic processes in society.

The parliament adopted a law on the election of deputies of the people's hurals and introduced supplements and changes in the country's Constitution.

The session passed a law on foreign investments, which is a follow-up on the open economic policy of people's Mongolia, which was adopted at the seventh plenum of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party late last year.

Another two laws deal with the extension of human rights and citizens'social protection. Legislators endorsed a law on the procedure for appealing to courts over unlawful actions by state bodies, the administration and officials, violating the rights of Mongolian citizens.

They also adopted a law on the procedure for compensating for the damage caused to citizens by illegitimate actions of courts, the Public Prosecutor's Office, and investigating bodies.

To raise pension benefits for members of agricultural associations, the parliament adopted a law, which makes amendments to the current legislation on pensions, and a law on pensions for farmers.

The parliament today dismissed Puntsagiyn Zhasray, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning and Economic Committee, and Myatavyn Pelzhe and Choynoryn Suren, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers.

The session endorsed Dashiyn Byambasyren as first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning and Economic Committee.

Deputies of the People's Great Hural adopted an appeal to the Mongolian people, proclaiming the restoration of the priority of state power, and calling to forge the unity of the nation and deepen perestroyka and the renewal process.

Mongolian Parliament's Decisions Reported

PM2303154390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Nabatchikov dispatch: "At People's Great Hural Session"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar—The resolute policy adopted at the last, Eighth MPRP [Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party] Central Committee Plenum of abandoning the obsolete political structures in the country and radically renewing them has received a new boost at the routine session of the People's Great Hural being held here.

The new chairman of the People's Great Hural Presidium has already been elected at the session and the new MPR [Mongolian People's Republic] prime minister has been appointed. They are, respectively, P. Ochirbat, minister of foreign economic relations and supply, and Sh. Gungaadorj, who combined the posts of deputy chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers and minister of agriculture and the food industry. J. Batmonh and D. Sodnom have been released from their posts at their own request.

Publishing biographic data on the new leaders of the state and the country's government, the Mongolian press reports that Punsalmaagiyn Ochirbat was born into a livestock raiser's family in Dzavhan Aymag in 1942. He graduated from a mining institute in the Soviet Union in 1965. He specialized in maintenance engineering, and in 1975 he became a candidate of technical sciences.

He began his labor activity in 1966. From 1967 through 1972 he was chief engineer at the Sharin Gol Open-Cut Coal Mine. From 1972 he was MPR deputy minister of the fuel and energy industry and geology, and from 1976 he headed that ministry. In 1985 Ochirbat was appointed chairman of the Foreign Economic Relations Committee, which was later renamed the MPR Committee for Foreign Economic Relations and Supply, where he worked as minister until his election to this new post.

Sharabyn Gungaadorj, the new chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers, was born into a livestock raiser's family in Dornogovi Aymag in 1935. He graduated from the K.A. Timiryazev Agricultural Academy in Moscow in 1959. He defended his candidate's dissertation in 1976. He worked as an agronomist on the "Amgalan" State Farm and then at the State Farms Administration. In 1967 he was transferred to the MPRP Central Committee apparatus. In 1980 he became MPR first deputy minister of state farms. In 1986 he was appointed MPR minister of agriculture, and a year later he became deputy chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers. In the same year he was appointed also to the post of minister of agriculture and food industry.

In addition to these appointments, the session released Ts. Namsray from the post of deputy chairman of the People's Great Hural Presidium at his own request and Ts. Gotob, secretary of the People's Great Hural Presidium, in connection with his retirement on a pension. Ch. Dashdemberel was elected to this post in his place.

Mindful of numerous requests and suggestions from working people, the session adopted a decree lifting restrictions on the number and kinds of citizens' personal livestock. In this way one of the central program theses which the informals of the Mongolian Democratic Union used to win support among the country's herding population has lost its force.

Something else, however, is more important: The scope that has been opened up for rural workers' initiative will now create new incentives for increasing production of the most valuable livestock raw materials in the country and lessening tension in the food market.

The draft law on elections to people's hurals, which has already passed through the stage of nationwide discussion, occupies the central place on the session agenda. It provides, in particular, for representatives on people's hurals at all levels to now be "elected on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage with a secret ballot."

The draft law introduces a number of points that are quite new to the MPR electoral system. For example, it is now proposed to prohibit the election of members of the government, the People's Control Committee, and the Supreme Court to the People's Great Hural, and representatives of executive administrations to local hurals. In addition, provision is made for the first time for the right of the republic's citizens themselves to nominate their own candidacies for organs of people's power.

Other democratic amendments and additions to the law on elections, which will largely determine the future course of political reform in the country, are also being discussed.

It should also be pointed out that during the debate at the session certain deputies are advocating, in unison with the main demands of the informals and the opposition leaders, the speediest elaboration of a draft law on political parties and the reinstatement of permanently functioning legislative organs. It is also proposed to move to the very near future the next elections to the People's Great Hural, currently scheduled for 1991.

The session is continuing its work.

Ochirbat Addresses Mongolian Hural Session

LD2403163190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0340 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 24 Mar (TASS)—TASS correspondent Kim Boldokhonov reports:

The policy which has been adopted of demarcating the operational functions of party and state, of renewing the state system, and of increasing the state's role in society's life, attests to the fact that perestroyka in Mongolia has reached a crucial new stage, Punsalmaagiyn Ochirbat, the newly-elected chairman of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, has stated.

Ochirbat cited the creation of organizational, legal, and economic conditions for hurals of people's deputies at all levels to genuinely realize their right to be fully-empowered masters at a local level as a paramount task. The basis for the hurals' existence and activity is their constant living link with the people, their knowledge of the people's thoughts and opinions, and their guaranteed satisfaction of the people's rights and provision for their needs, he said. Consolidation of general discipline and public order by all organizations and citizens is also one of the most important tasks, Ochirbat stressed.

Touching on foreign policy matters, he stated that Mongolia will continue to consistently implement a policy of nonalignment and of expanding ties with all states on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, equal cooperation, and respect for a state's right to choose its own paths of development. The Mongolian leader pointed out in particular that comprehensive expansion and deepening of traditional ties with its neighbors—the Soviet Union and China—continue to be a paramount factor.

Kaifu Wish for 6-Party Regional Talks Welcomed

PM2003155790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Mar 90 First Edition p 6

[Vsevolod Ovchinnikov "Political Observer's Notes": "On a Multilateral Basis"]

[Text] During the Japanese parliament's discussion of the government head's program speech, what I see as an important statement was made. Prime Minister Kaifu came out in favor of convening an international conference on the problems of the Asia-Pacific region. The head of the present cabinet said that he was "prepared to welcome the holding of such a conference if it were now possible." One of the first steps in that direction, Kaifu believes, would be six-sided talks involving the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Japan, and North and South Korea on easing tension on the Korean peninsula.

There are two noteworthy elements, as I see it. First, Japan has hitherto rejected the Soviet Union's appeals to engage in a collective discussion of problems of Pacific security. Tokyo has always said that before starting something like the all-European process in Asia it was necessary to regulate regional conflicts and disputes, including the "northern territories question." So it is noteworthy that for the first time a Japanese Government head has expressed a willingness to discuss regional problems on a multilateral basis.

Second, Kaifu's pronouncements in favor of a six-sided meeting to normalize the situation on the Korean peninsula are very much in tune with the third and seventh points in the Soviet program made public in Krasnoyarsk. I would remind you that M.S. Gorbachev proposed a multilateral discussion of the question of reducing military confrontation in the areas where the USSR, the PRC, Japan, the DPRK, and South Korea are in coastal proximity, in order to freeze and commensurately reduce the levels of naval and air forces and limit their activities. He also proposed discussion among any number of parties on the question of creating a negotiating mechanism to consider proposals relating to security in Asia and the Pacific. I would like to agree with Kaifu that his six-sided talks (involving five countries listed in Krasnoyarsk, plus the United States) could be the first step on the path to creating this mechanism.

Of course, if the collective discussion of regional problems starts with the situation on the Korean peninsula, then Pyongyang and Seoul must decide on the terms for these talks. It is to be hoped that their decision on this matter will take into account the long-term interests of the entire Korean nation and the peace-loving aspirations of the other Asian and Pacific peoples.

Khabarovsk, Niigata Agree on Radio, TV Ties

OW2103012590 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 17 Mar 90

[From the "Soviet Far East News" program]

[Excerpts] In this first dispatch from the city of Khabarovsk, we will broadcast a report on a memorandum signed between the Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting [CTRB] of Khabarovsk City and the NHK Niigata Bureau of Japan.

Listeners, the Khabarovsk City CTRB and NHK Niigata Bureau of Japan signed a cooperation memorandum on 8 March. Significantly, this memorandum was signed in the year marking the 25th anniversary of the establishment of sister-city relations between Khabarovsk and

Niigata. Within the framework of conducting sister city exchanges, the two cities have exchanged visits by official municipal government delegations as well as delegations of doctors, teachers, and intellectuals every year. [passage omitted]

In welcoming the signing the memorandum on cooperation between the television and radio stations, Khabarovsk Vice Mayor (Shevchenko) said:

[Begin (Shevchenko) recording in Russian fading into Japanese translation] We are taking part in an event that far exceeds the framework of professional interest. Therefore, taking advantage of this opportunity and on behalf of the Khabarovsk Municipal Government and the Committee of International Exchanges, I would like to extend my congratulations on the signing of the memorandum as well as on the opening of exchanges between the television and radio stations of the two sister cities. I am firmly convinced that those engaged in television and radio broadcasting work will contribute greatly to the promotion of exchanges in the economic, cultural, sports, and other fields. Through television and radio programs, the residents of our two cities will come to understand each other's life and deepen mutual understanding. I sincerely wish that various activities will be promoted. [end recording]

Meanwhile, Sadao Oda, chief of the NHK Niigata Bureau and leader of the bureau delegation, said: [Begin Sadao recording] Thank all of you from the Khabarovsk CTRB, the Amur River Ship Public Corporation, and also from various other sectors, for attending this ceremony today, although it is a holiday today. The accord we are going to sign today is not just an agreement for promoting cooperative relations between broadcasting stations, the Khabarovsk CTRB and the NHK Niigata Bureau. We are deeply convinced that our cooperation will become one of the effective measures to promote friendship, goodneighborliness, and peace by deepening mutual understanding between the peoples of Khabarovsk and Niigata and between the Japanese and Soviet peoples as well. [passage omitted]

On the basis of the memorandum to be signed later today by the Khabarovsk CTRB and the NHK Niigata Bureau, we would like to further promote exchanges between the peoples of our two cities and our two nations and to make new efforts to promote peace, friendship, and prosperity. [end recording]

Chairman (Vladimir Yeloshin) of the Khabarovsk CTRB, who signed the memorandum on behalf of the Soviet side, said: [Begin (Yeloshin) recording in Russian fading into Japanese translation] The memorandum indicates that private-sector diplomacy has expanded. Cooperation between our two cities is no longer limited to the municipal government level as more and more people of various social organizations have begun to join in this cooperation in a more extensive way. [end recording] [passage omitted]

TV-Radio Official Asks for Japanese Cooperation

OW1403043490 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 10 Mar 90

[From the "Soviet Far East News" program]

[Excerpts] You are now listening to the callsign of Dalniy Vostok, a new television program relayed to the Soviet Far East via a communications satellite named Far East. This program, which is broadcast for one hour every Monday from 2000 local time, carries the Soviet Far East news, discusses current problems and seeks ways to solve them, and introduces trade and economic exchanges between various regions and foreign nations as well as life and culture of local residents and minority nationalities in the northern area or along the Amur River. [passage omitted]

The new television program, Dalniy Vostok, is jointly produced by the staffs of six radio and television stations in the Soviet Far East, including Khabarovsk, Maritime, Sakhalin, Magadan, Kamchatka, and Amur oblasts.

Chairman (Vladimir Yeloshin) of the Khabarovsk Oblast Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting said the following: [(Yeloshin) is heard in Russian fading into Japanese translation]

In order to help resolve problems connected with perestroyka and to promote regional unity, we began talks. As a result, we decided on taking action as a group to help oblast authorities in the Soviet Far East to resolve problems in economic and political fields, social structure, cultural development, and welfare of residents. [passage omitted]

Concerning the future prospects of the television program Dalniy Vostok, its broadcasting time will soon be extended to two hours and will be broadcast twice a week. We will be able to cooperate with television stations in the Asia-Pacific nations. We understand that some Japanese television companies are interested in receiving our television programs. Since we have the right to broadcast our programs to foreign nations, we are capable of signing agreements with neighboring nations. On behalf of all the oblast committees for television and radio broadcasting in the Soviet Far East, I would like to suggest to all the state-run and private television companies in Japan that they hold talks on operational cooperation with us.

Since we have instructions on our operation from the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting as well as from the Ministry of Communications, we are ready to hold talks with Japan on the conditions for Japan to receive and broadcast our television programs via communications satellites. We can also discuss the issue of granting preferential rights to receive and relay our programs. [passage omitted]

The promotion of such practical relations can be based either on foreign exchange or on a barter system. For example, as compensation for our service, we would like to receive television and radio equipment from Japan. Of course, we would be responsible for paying customs. [(Yeloshin) is heard in Russian fading into Japanese translation]

If anyone in Japan is interested in our new television program Dalniy Vostok—that is cooperation via the communications satellite named Far East—or any other forms of cooperation, please send us your concrete proposals. We will be waiting for your contacts. This is what Mr. (Vladimir Yeloshin) stated. [passage omitted]

SRV Minister on Smaller Workforce in USSR

90UI0443A Moscow TRUD in Russian
14 Mar 90 p 3

[Article by TRUD correspondent A. Kalashnikov: "We Feel Like Small Children (That Is What the Vietnamese Workers in the USSR Say)"]

[Text] The problems of the Vietnamese workers in the USSR are covered by the Vietnamese press with almost the same urgency as by ours. This can be said of the trade union weekly LAO DONG, More than others. To our friends' credit, it must be mentioned that the coverage is a lot more tactful and objective than what appears in many of the Soviet periodicals. Here is an example: LAO DONG reprinted the article "Second Class People" from the OGONYOK magazine which described the Vietnamese in the USSR and caused, by the way, an upsetting reaction here. The Vietnamese weekly added an even-handed commentary to it which criticized only their local officials as responsible for the organizational mishaps in the cooperation with other countries.

Nevertheless, the Vietnamese have quite a few complaints for their Soviet partners. The editors of the trade union weekly receive lots of letters from the Soviet Union from those who become disappointed by their work in the USSR and want to return home. "We feel like small children," says one of the letters, "left by their parents in the crowd at a market."

But the current problem is not in the complaints. A fundamental solution for the future of the Vietnamese workers in the USSR should be found. Here is the position expressed by the SRV Minister of Labor Nguyen Ky Cam in his interview to LAO DONG.

The minister thinks that at the time when the Soviet-Vietnamese intergovernmental agreement on cooperation in the field of labor resources was signed over 10 years ago, they were putting more accent on the political and ideological side of it, on the idea of strengthening the friendly ties between the two countries. But the economics and the mutual benefits of the contract were not considered in due light. It is quite natural then that in so many years of its existence the document, open to criticism by its nature, helped to accumulate a great number of unresolved problems. Especially because the cooperation was controlled only at the intergovernmental level and the more efficient potential of contacting the enterprises directly was not used. To Nguyen Ky Cam this seems to be the second rationale for the current situation. The third one, according to him, is the difficulty of mutual accounting between socialist countries which is done in "abstract currency"—transferable rubles.

By the SRV Ministry of Labor estimates, 25 to 30 percent of the Vietnamese workers at Soviet enterprises do not receive adequate job assignments which results in their low earnings. With skyrocketing prices this situation causes a lack of a material incentive for work. Moreover, the only way for them to bring their savings home is to buy some durable goods and send them to Vietnam. Both of these issues have their own problems. The LAO DONG journalist compares passing through the customs in Sheremetyevo airport to "a gamble without any rules." The minister of labor cites the following example: Nobody in Moscow wants to explain clearly to the representatives of the Vietnamese Embassy which goods are allowed to be taken out of the USSR, and in what quantities. A similar situation exists in Bulgaria. "If our friends in the socialist countries do not settle this problem," warns the minister, "we will not be able to continue our cooperation."

Should the Soviet Union count on the Vietnamese labor force in the future also? As it transpires from the interview, the Vietnamese side has already made the decision to cut down on the volume of cooperation: "Even though the Soviet Union is requesting 16.3 thousand workers for this year we will send a lot fewer of them."

Another thing is that Vietnam is becoming more and more active in its desire to sell the labor force for dollars. They have made such suggestions to the countries of the Middle and Near East, to France, Italy, and Scandinavia. And they were not unsuccessful. Minister of Labor Nguyen Ky Cam said that at present 180 thousand Vietnamese workers are in other countries. The majority of them work in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They bring the annual profit of R100 million to their government. Only 10 thousand Vietnamese are working in Iraq, but in the past year alone they provided hard currency to the sum of $25 million for their country.

Near East & South Asia

New Afghan Defense Minister Watanjar Interviewed

PM2303140590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Mar 90 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Afghan Defense Minister Army General Mohammad Aslam Watanjar, member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo, by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A.

Oliynik: "War Leads to Impasse"; first paragraph is editorial introduction; date of interview not specified]

[Text] While in Kabul KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's special correspondent met with Afghan Defense Minister Army General Mohammad Aslam Watanjar, member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] Central Committee Politburo, and held an interview with him.

[Oliynik] Comrade Army General, the mass media have provided extensive coverage of the conspiracy launched 6 March by your predecessor, Shahnawaz Tanai. What were the reasons for this plot, in your view? When did you find out about the attempted military coup?

[Watanjar] The radio and press in many countries of the world have indeed devoted great attention to former Defense Minister Shahnawaz Tanai's conspiracy. Unfortunately, they did not always stick to the truth here and were more inclined to base their reports on rumor and conjecture. This applies both to the putsch itself and to the motives behind it. If we are talking about the main reason for the unsuccessful rebellion, I would divide the answer to this question into two parts. The first one is the hostile attitude of the handful of left-wing extremists headed by Shahnawaz to the national reconciliation policy. At the time they did not understand and were reluctant to acknowledge the party's peace-loving policy, and then they began to do everything to wreck the Afghan leadership's efforts to establish peace and tranquillity in the country. The second lies in Shahnawaz' personal qualities. His arrogance, pathological ambition, adventurism, and Bonapartist inclinations also incited him to commit the bloody crime against the party and the whole people and induced him to take up with Hekmatyar's fundamentalists, who cleave to the most extreme positions within the opposition.

As the republic's former minister of internal affairs, I did of course have detailed knowledge of the conspiracy that was brewing. Our government took all steps to suppress it. I will say more. The PDPA Central Committee Politburo and President Najibullah personally tried to influence Shahnawaz and his few supporters, who were then part of the military-state apparatus, and even made concessions to them. But Shahnawaz would not, unfortunately, heed the party...

[Oliynik] On the basis of the abortive revolt some circles—and not only Western circles—are concluding that the PDPA is now experiencing another crisis and that the clashes between its two "Parcham" and "Khalq" factions have sharpened to an extreme degree. What can you say about that?

[Watanjar] Yes, the conspirators treacherously stabbed the party in the back and played into the hands of those who oppose a peaceful settlement of the Afghan problem. I am referring above all to opposition leaders and Pakistani military circles. As for a crisis within the party and, more particularly, confrontation between its two factions, I absolutely reject such flights of fancy. Western propaganda has frequently tried to cause a rift between the former "Khalq" and "Parcham" wings, which long ago joined forces to form the PDPA and between which there are no political or social contradictions. To put it more accurately, our party, as is well known, has not accepted such demarcations for a long time now. We have devoted a great deal of effort and energy in the past to eradicating these phenomena. In my view, the purge [chistka] of the party after the putsch will only reinforce its ranks. We do not mistrust one another now. There are many facts to illustrate this. For instance, I am defense minister, Raz Mohammad Paktin is minister of internal affairs, and Nazar Mohammad is PDPA Central Committee secretary and minister of construction, yet we were all members of Khalq in the past. Quite recently a large group of former Khalq members, headed by Iqbal, head of the Afghan Army Main Political Directorate under Amin, was released from the Pol-e-Charki central jail by decision of the PDPA Central Committee Bureau [as published]. In short, the overwhelming majority of party members rigorously and unswervingly observe the demands of the statutes and unswervingly implement the line of the party, whose strategy and tactics are the national reconciliation policy.

[Oliynik] What is the military-political situation like now in the country as a whole?

[Watanjar] I am not prone to embellishing the situation. The situation in some areas of the country is still complex and contradictory and requires the Afghan Government to take all measures and use all means to defend the homeland. This applies above all to the areas bordering Pakistan. Fierce fighting is now under way around Khowst and there is a tense situation on the Jalalabad front and near Qandahar and Fayzabad. Major opposition force formations are massing there and large consignments of weapons and munitions are shipped there every day.

Here I would like to focus attention on the fulfillment of the Geneva agreements. I can say with confidence that there would be no more bloodshed in Afghanistan today if the United States and Pakistan had fulfilled the pledges made in Geneva. Unfortunately, that has not happened. While Afghanistan and the Soviet Union are fully abiding by the Geneva agreements, Pakistan and the United States are virtually ignoring them. American weapons come through Pakistan in a never-ending stream to the rebels, who also have base camps and training centers in operation. The opposition's so-called "transitional government' has entrenched itself in Peshawar. Lately there have been reports about Pakistani servicemen along with military advisers from the United States, the FRG, Saudi Arabia, and other countries fighting on the rebel side. The gamble by Pakistan and the United States on the opposition winning military victory illustrates a lack of realism in their approach to the settlement of the Afghan problem, which cannot be resolved by force of arms. It is time for everyone who is still lavishly subsidizing the extremists to realize this obvious fact.

[Oliynik] The Afghan Army has already spent more than 10 years on the battlefield. What problems is it now facing and, in particular, what is the situation with regard to desertion?

[Watanjar] During the years of military disturbance our country has come up against a large number of highly complex problems, the main cause of which was the war. This can also be said of the Afghan Army, which is, I would stress, an army at war. At all times this army probably had one highly acute problem—shortage of manpower. We now need, for instance, specialists in the combat professions—pilots, tank crewmen, and artillerymen... This is not only due to the losses that we are incurring in combat. The reason is that despite the war, we are systematically—twice a year—discharging people from the ranks of the armed forces.

As for desertion from the Army, it has considerably lessened of late. Although it must be acknowledged that there are cases of it even now, mainly in mountain posts and border guard posts. I would regard as desertion the traitors' escape after the abortive coup by aircraft and helicopter.

[Oliynik] Can't the rebels use these and other captured aircraft against the Afghan Army?

[Watanjar] Theoretically yes. Practically it is not that easy. The opposition still lacks the economic and military potential to use aircraft in battle. Above all they need an airfield for this with all the material and technical servicing facilities. If the rebels succeed in capturing this kind of airfield even for a while, we will immediately mount devastating bombing and rocket attacks on it. As for the aircraft and helicopter which were stolen and taken to Pakistan, they are the property of the Republic of Afghanistan. It is well known that, the country's President Najibullah has demanded that Islamabad return the transport aircraft and helicopter seized by the escaping rebels.

[Oliynik] One last question, Comrade Army General. How do you see the settlement of the Afghan problem. Are you an optimist or a pessimist?

[Watanjar] We Afghan patriots who accomplished the April Revolution of 27 April 1978 have always been optimists, believing in our country's future. Including with regard to the political settlement of the Afghan problem. But you cannot get far on optimism alone. We favor talks and agreements based on national reconciliation. The Afghan Government, as the country's president Najibullah has mentioned several times of late, is willing to conduct talks and secure accords with any opposition groups at any time, in any place, and without any preliminary conditions, apart from one—total equality for the participant sides. It is up to opposition forces to take answering steps and manifest a constructive approach to the peaceful settlement of the Afghan question. We hope that they will do this ultimately. There is another thing that sustains my optimism. The fact that the Afghan Army has defended the republic independently for over a year now inspires optimism and hope.

Taking this opportunity, I would like to express sincere gratitude to the Soviet people and your country's president, M.S. Gorbachev, for their active support for the national reconciliation policy in the international arena and for their selfless fraternal aid.

Najibullah Welcomes Gorbachev's Election

PM2303143390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Undated message of congratulations from Najibullah, president of Afghanistan, to M.S. Gorbachev on his election as USSR president]

[Text] To His Excellency M.S. Gorbachev, president of the USSR

Dear Mikhail Sergeyevich,

I received the news about your election as president of the USSR with great satisfaction. On behalf of the Afghan people, the government of Afghanistan, and myself I offer you my most cordial congratulations.

The new political thinking of which you are the creator and initiator has found its way into the hearts and minds of all mankind, including the peace-loving Afghan people, and significantly strengthened the Soviet Union's and your personal prestige.

Your election to the post of President of the USSR once again clearly demonstrated that the Soviet people and their elected representatives in the Supreme Soviet clearly advocate the policy of the new thinking, perestroyka, and glasnost, and that they want these processes to continue and deepen.

I wholeheartedly wish you health and success in fulfilling the lofty obligations of president, I wish the Soviet people great achievements, and I hope also that friendly relations between our countries will continue to strengthen and develop.

[Signed] Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Commentary Urges Settling Afghan Problem

LD2403223690 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Experts of the Soviet Union and the United States have held a two-day meeting in Helsinki to discuss the situation in Afghanistan, and here's what Radio Moscow news analyst Yuriy Solton writes:

The two countries, guarantors of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, conduct consultations regularly. The meetings are usually held behind closed doors and the latest was no exception in this respect. Officially it was only announced that the discussions were useful and helped to clarify the positions of the two sides. As to whether practical progress was made, we'll probably find out about that after Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and American Secretary of State James Baker meet in Washington next month and discuss a number of problems, including that of Afghanistan.

In the meantime, it seems absolutely clear to me that the Soviet Union, the United States and also the United Nations should step up efforts to break the military deadlock in Afghanistan and bring closer a political settlement. Though Washington continues to supply the rebels with weapons, it looks as if it is reassessing its Afghan policy, though very slowly. It has even mentioned the possibility of recognizing the credentials of the present Kabul regime of President Najibullah during the transitional period. And yet Washington is reluctant to make the last decisive step, that is to recognize the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan headed by Najibullah as a serious political force which can't be ignored. And the recently crushed attempt to perform a government coup showed that President Najibullah and his party have substantial support in the army and among the people, even though there are many difficulties and problems.

As for who will govern Afghanistan in the future and what its constitution will be like, that is for the Afghans themselves to decide. But that requires at least two conditions: there should be a cease-fire, and ending arms deliveries to all warring sides could, to a big extent, bring that about. Secondly, there should be free elections in the country under the supervision of the United Nations.

Prsident Najibullah said once again recently that the Afghan Government is ready to conduct talks and come to terms with any opposition group at any time at any place and without any preliminary conditions with the exception of one—full equality of the sides. As for the external aspects of an Afghan settlement, that is ensuring the demilitarization of the country and guaranteeing its independence and its nonaligned status, this could be discussed at an international conference. Such is the stand of the Soviet Union, which is shared by Kabul and a number of other countries and first of all by the nonaligned countries.

Afghan Opposition Leader's Tehran Visit Noted

NC2203214190 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary]

[Text] Ahmad Gilani is leading a delegation of the Afghan opposition's Seven-Party Alliance in Tehran. This delegation met with representatives of the Supreme Assembly of Afghan Shiites who recently met in the Iranian capital. Our commentator Yuriy Andreyev writes:

Apparently shuttle diplomacy has become a regular modus operandi for the so-called Afghan mujahidin. During the past year alone, dozens of various delegations shuttled between Peshawar and Tehran. The main objective behind these visits is to reach at least an apparent unity among the Afghan opposition.

As you know, from the very beginning the antistate movement in Afghanistan split into two large camps—Sunni and Shiite. The Sunni opposition, based in Pakistan, has rallied the absolute majority of the parties around it and claims the leadership role in the antistate movement. The Seven-Party Alliance representatives formed the so-called interim government which is trying to represent all Afghan opposition internationally.

The Shiite parties—the so-called mujahidin based in Iran—regard the ambitious approach of the [word indistinct] opposition with great [word indistinct]. They did not join the interim government and continue to consider this government illegal.

The Peshawar (?agents) have repeatedly tried to attract the pro-Iranian antistate organizations, but their attempts have been in vain. The feeling is that the schism in the opposition camp is irreparable. For instance, the Shiites have rejected the new solution on the government which the Seven-Party Alliance has propounded. The pro-Iranian Nine-Party Alliance delegation discussed this issue in Peshawar for three weeks, but the basic differences of opinion between the sides were not overcome. It seems that the Shiite opposition has adopted a policy of completely severing (?organizational) ties with the interim [word indistinct] government.

The fact that the session of the Supreme Assembly of Afghanistan Shiites was held in the Iranian capital was not incidental. Representatives of 300 Shiite Afghan opposition groups participated in this session. The gathering voted for forming an independent, nonaligned, and Islamic government in Afghanistan. It clearly adopted a stand against the interim government and practically legalized the schism in the opposition camp.

The Supreme Assembly of Afghanistan Shiites reiterated the fact that basic differences of opinion on the outlook of the country's political growth still exist between the Shiite and Sunni opposition. It seems that efforts to overcome the daily increasing controversies led to Ahmad Gilani's visit to Tehran. Once again he tried to gain the Shiites' agreement on forming an interim government, but it is improbable for Ahmad Gilani to reach a compromise.

Clearly the Shiite parties' leaders are not in a hurry to form a political unity with the Seven-Party Alliance. They probably have made their (?own political calculations), and the polarization of forces in the opposition camp is what they favor.

USSR-Iran Economic Relations Deepening

LD2203160590 Moscow TASS in English 1355 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—"Soviet-Iranian economic relations are entering a new stage, characterised by the mutual desire to deepen them dynamically and comprehensively," Soviet Railway Minister Nikolay Konarev told TASS today.

Konarev headed a Soviet delegation to the 12th session of the standing commission on Soviet-Iranian economic cooperation that was recently held in Tehran.

The session examined the fulfilment of mutual commitments and a long-term programme for trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation until 2000. The sides confirmed their interest in the expansion of long-term economic ties.

The Iranian side prioritizes the fulfilment of the agreement for the Iranian natural gas delivery that was reached by Soviet President Gorbachev and his Iranian counterpart Hashemi-Rafsanjani last June in Moscow.

The sides decided to establish a standing sub-committee on gas and power engineering to solve these issues.

Iran is interested in cooperation in nuclear power engineering and the development of transportation between the two countries. The commission also devoted much attention to the Esfahan metallurgical plant, which was built with the Soviet technical assistance.

Iran would like to begin the construction of a railway from Mashhad to Tejhen via Sarakhs as soon as possible. It also wants Soviet organisations to help build a road from Mashhad to Bafq.

The Iranian side reaffirmed its interest in buying or leasing three Soviet Yak-42 passenger jets.

While discussing trade cooperation, Iran expressed its wish to increase considerably its exports of textile, footwear and agricultural products, as well as imports of Soviet-made machinery, equipment and other goods.

Rafsanjani Sends Congratulations to Gorbachev

PM2203141190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Text of message from Iranian President Rafsanjani to M.S. Gorbachev]

[Text] To Mr Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, president of the USSR,

I express to Your Excellency my sincere congratulations on your election to the post of president of the USSR.

I wish you successes in achieving humane goals and further progress for the USSR and its people. I hope the friendly relations between our countries will steadily strengthen.

[Signed] Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Soviet Embassy Fire in Beirut Reported

LD2303233490 Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Firefighters in Beirut are reported to have taken four hours to put down a heavy outbreak of fire on the Soviet Embassy compound there. Police say the fire may have been caused by a short circuit. One man is said to have died, probably a Soviet diplomat, with several others receiving serious burns and injuries.

Libya's Al-Qadhdhafi Call for Boycott Examined

LD2103224790 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Arabic 1430 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Commentary by Andrey Vasilyev—read by announcer]

[Text] Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, has urged the Islamic world to boycott the United States, Britain, and the FRG both economically and diplomatically. Al-Qadhdhafi stated this in the wake of the fire that broke out in a chemical plant near Tripoli. Our commentator, Andrey Vasilyev, wrote the following in this respect:

The Libyan information media announced that the fire in the plant was the result of an act of sabotage, hinting at the possibility of the involvement of U.S. and West German special services. This plant was built in Al-Rabitah with the help of West Germany, and Libya affirms that it produces only medical products. As for the United States and West Germany, they do not rule out the production of poisonous chemical warfare products in the plant.

The Libyan news agency JANA says that Col al-Qadhdhafi has stated that all the Islamic countries should sever diplomatic relations with Washington, London, and Bonn, affirming that the activity of the embassies of these countries is aimed at undermining the pillars of Islam, and that these embassies are dens for the tenth crusade against the Islamic world.

The statements by the leader of the Libyan revolution, setting aside their special blunt expression, which sometimes shocks even the Arabs, are nothing but a reflection of the rise in recent weeks of a tendency hostile not only to the United States but also to Europe. The fire in the chemical plant coincided with the execution of the British journalist accusing of spying in Iraq. This event aroused a wave of concern and protests in Europe, and a wave of solidarity with Iraq in the Arab countries.

On the other hand, there also is a constant background for concern caused by the continuous emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel, and allegations are levelled at the Soviet Union which it would be more reasonable to direct at the leaders of Israel regarding attempts to settle Jewish migrants in the occupied territories.

What partially activates the anti-European tendency is the power of Islamic fundamentalists, especially in Iran, but it would be erroneous to confine the matter to their activity alone. Col. al-Qadhdhafi himself uses Islamic [word indistinct] in his speeches only, and he does not allow the Islamic clergymen in his country even to come close to power.

No doubt that the support given by the United States and some European states, in one way or another, for the tendencies toward annexation and expansion in Israel plays a role in fueling tension; but it is impossible not to note that the Arab (?political ideas, in some of their aspects, have become) a movement [word indistinct] of issues of confrontation and cooperation in contemporary international policy. This is, first and foremost, naturally due to the bitter reminiscences of colonial times and the more than 40-year Arab-Israel conflict. The meaning of struggle, including armed struggle, has penetrated deeply into the Arab political mind, to the extent that, in our opinion, it removes the possibility of envisaging other forms of relations with the outside world.

What should be said is that [words indistinct] for the use of force to emphasize the correctness of the behavior of the Islamic states is precisely an explanation for the conflicts between these states themselves. Hundreds of thousands and millions of Muslims perish in these conflicts, as shown by the 10-year-long clashes between Iran and Iraq. Youths less than 14 or 15 years old, whose bodies were torn apart by mines in the marshes surrounding Fish Lake, did not fight with the crusaders, in the final analysis. [passage indistinct]

Soviet Muslim Delegation Visits Tripoli

LD2503092990 Moscow TASS in English 0813 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] Tripoli March 25 TASS—A Soviet Muslim delegation led by Mufti M. Mamayusupov, chairman of the Muslim Board of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, visited the Libyan Jamahiriyah. The delegation attended the second conference of the World Islamic People's Leadership in Tripoli.

When in the Libyan capital, the delegation was received by Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, the leader of the Libyan revolution. Mufti Mamayusupov told al-Qadhdhafi about changes taking place in the Soviet Union, the position of Soviet Muslims, and set out their point of view on the problem connected with Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union.

The delegation had talks with Ahmad Sharif, general secretary of the "Islamic Appeal" organization. The two sides signed a protocol on cooperation.

Arab League Spokesman on League's Anniversary

LD2203195690 Moscow TASS in English 1831 GMT 22 Mar 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow, March 22 TASS—"The opening of a mission of the League of Arab States (LAS) in the Soviet Union promotes stronger relations of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and the Arab world and an improvement of our relations in the political, economic and cultural fields," Monsef al-Mai [name as received] the LAS represntative in Moscow, told TASS in view of today's 45th anniversary of the founding of the league.

The league regards the Soviet Union as its long-standing friend and believes that further strengthening of Soviet-Arab political cooperation meets the interests of a settlement of the Middle East conflict, a just solution to the Palestinian problem and other problems facing mankind as soon as possible, he said.

From the very outset the league played an important role in support for the national liberation movement and sought to unite Arab countries, Monsef al-Mai said. Its activities are aimed at strengthening political, economic and cultural cooperation of arab states and at upholding their common interests.

A settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, of which the Palestinian problem is the core, holds a special place in the league's work at the present stage, he said.

"We look for ways towards a political settlement of the conflict. However, to our great regret, all our attempts to find compromise solutions encounter Israel's resistance.

"Israel's unlawful actions to settle immigrants on the occupied Arab territories are one of urgent problems on the league's agenda."

Monsef al-Mai described the Israeli authorities' policy as "unlawful and putting serious obstacles in the path to peace in the Middle East." "This policy should be discontinued," he emphasised.

The league representative noted that the Soviet Union approached this problem with understanding and shares the concern of Arab countries over Israel's plans to use immigrants, including those from the Soviet Union, to populate Arab lands.

It is not fortuitous that it was precisely on the Soviet Union's initiative that this issue has been brought up for consideration in the United Nations Security Council," Monsef al-Mai said.

Syria's Al-Asad Congratulates Gorbachev

PM2203105990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Message of congratulations from Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad to Mikhail Gorbachev on his election as USSR president]

[Text] To Mikhail Gorbachev, USSR president

I am pleased to express to you my sincerest congratulations on your election as USSR president and wishes for success in fulfilling your responsible and important tasks.

I also want to confirm our desire to continue strengthening the relations of friendship and cooperation which exist between our countries and which have shown they meet the interests of our peoples and benefit both sides.

I will take advantage of this opportunity to express my best wishes for health and happiness to you and for prosperity to the friendly Soviet people.

[Signed] Hafiz al-Asad

Comment on Israeli Government No-Confidence Vote

TA2103091390 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1600 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Commentary by foreign affairs commentator Aleksandr Kushnir]

[Excerpts] Our foreign affairs commentator Aleksandr Kushnir yesterday attended a press briefing in Moscow given by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Department. Among other major international issues, Gerasimov referred to the situation in Israel, noting that for the first time in Israel's history a vote of no confidence in the government was related to foreign policy matters. [passage omitted]

Of course, the question of which government will be established is Israel's own business. Nevertheless, journalists have the right to assess possible developments in any country. Therefore, we would like to express our opinion concerning the government crisis in Israel and the chances of solving it.

In our opinion, Israeli society has grown to accept the formula of land for peace and two states for two peoples. After all, 42 years of confrontation with the Arab world have not led Israel's neighbors to recognize it, due to Israel's refusal to recognize the right of the Palestinians to establish their own state. On the other hand, the Arabs have realized that they cannot destroy the State of Israel and that they must reach an agreement with it on peaceful coexistence. This means that compromises must be sought, and that decisions must be formulated that would be acceptable to all the parties to the conflict.

But Likud leader Shamir is unwilling to make compromises. He simply does not want any compromises. The Israeli people and its representatives in the Knesset could not wait any longer, and the vote of no confidence in Shamir's government is the result.

We do not want to make any predictions about how things will develop in Israel and on the sort of coalition that will be formed. But as far as we are concerned, there is no doubt that only a government that will fulfill the mission of attaining peace for the sake of the Israeli people's interests will be able to find compromises. We would not be wrong in saying that Israel's interests are peace and recognition by the Arab countries, a recognition that is anchored in international guarantees.

As for the Soviet Union, as has been the case in the past, it is prepared to lend a hand toward finding a peaceful and just solution to the Israeli-Arab conflict that takes the legitimate rights of all the incumbent parties into consideration.

Nepalese Ambassador Pays Final Ministry Call

PM2103095990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, received B.P. Rimal, Nepalese ambassador to the USSR, 19 March in connection with his impending final departure for home. On the same day Yu.M. Vorontsov held a luncheon in B.P. Rimal's honor.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Shevardnadze Winds Down Tour of African Countries

Talks With Zimbabwe's Shamuyarira

LD2303181590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1735 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Harare, 23 Mar (TASS)—Talks took place today between USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who is here on a working visit, and Nathan Shamuyarira, Zimbabwe's minister of foreign affairs. During the meeting, questions concerning bilateral relations and a number of international and regional problems were discussed. Particular attention was devoted to the development of events in southern Africa and to the prospects of a peace settlement for the situation in Angola, Mozambique, and the region as a whole.

The coincidence of the two countries' position and their aspiration toward resolving the existing conflict situations by political means was noted at the talks. It was stressed that the new political thinking, initiated by the Soviet Union, has already led to specific positive changes in the international arena and in southern Africa, in particular.

Holds Talks With Mugabe

LD2303223690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2140 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] During his working visit to Zimbabwe, E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, was received by the president of the country, Robert Mugabe. The meeting was held in one of the country's regional centers, the town of Kadoma, which Mugabe was visiting in connection with the election campaign.

Warm greetings from M.S. Gorbachev were conveyed to the president of Zimbabwe. Mugabe, in turn, expressed fervent wishes for the USSR president's success in his efforts to solve the problems of the Soviet Union and his activities to establish peace throughout the world. If it were not for the great initiatives of perestroyka and glasnost, said Mugabe, the process of democratization in the East and throughout the world could not have happened. This process is difficult but any restructuring proceeds with difficulty. I am convinced, said the president, that it is only thanks to the initiatives of M.S. Gorbachev that harmonious, normal, friendly relations are developing between East and West and that an end has been put to the cold war.

E.A. Shevardnadze and R. Mugabe discussed in broad terms the complex and difficult political processes that have recently gripped many countries in the African continent and in Europe. They talked of the destiny of the world and of the future of the socialist idea which, in the joint opinion of those speaking, is far from exhausted.

Sharing his thoughts, E.A. Shevardnadze said society in the future might perhaps be a synthesis of all the positive that civilization has created: Capitalism has interesting achievements, there is socialism's rich experience, the experience of the developing countries in the struggle for freedom and in national construction.

The fundamental aspects of Soviet-Zimbabwean relations, the overall level of which is satisfactory, were examined. There is a single approach here—the desire to develop them and expand them to new fields. Concern for the efficiency and mutual advantage of Soviet-Zimbabwean economic relations is shared. There are good conditions for this to happen, taking into account Zimbabwe's developed infrastructure.

In international affairs the USSR and Zimbabwe share the same platform on most global and regional problems. In the course of exchange of views on the situation in the south of Africa it was noted that the attainment of Namibian independence is a proof of united humankind's ability to solve most complex problems. This creates good prospects for Angola and Mozambique and will have an effect on the processes of changes in RSA.

E.A. Shevardnadze's talks with Nathan Shamuyarira, Zimbabwean minister of foreign affairs, were primarily devoted to a search for concrete ways of bringing the two countries' economic ties up to the level of their political relations. Currently the potential of Soviet-Zimbabwean economic cooperation is far from being fully used. From the Soviet side new opportunities are opening through transferring military enterprises to the production of civilian output.

The ministers welcomed the forthcoming opening by Aeroflot of direct Moscow-Harare air route. In their conversations, E.A. Shevardnadze and N.Shamuyarira touched upon a broad spectrum of international problems in which the USSR and Zimbabwe successfully and fruitfully cooperate.

Delivers Speech at Dinner

LD2403092890 Moscow TASS in English 2023 GMT 23 Mar 90

[By TASS special correspondents Sergey Nikishov, Yuriy Pichugin, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Harare March 23 TASS—Remarkable changes in the political situation in southern Africa, a transition from armed confrontation to a dialogue aimed at restoring national unity in Angola and Mozambique have become possible due to a new climate of confidence and vigorous policy of restructuring of international relations, said Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze at a dinner given in his honour by Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira.

"Realism, consideration for each other's interests, equal security for all, refusal from power methods in politics become characteristic of the present day," Shevardnadze said. "The concept of 'us' and 'them' is gradually replaced with a concept of the similarity of our destinies."

Namibia's independence has undoubtedly become an important landmark on the way to ridding southern Africa of colonialist and racist rules, Shevardnadze said. But nobody has reasons either for euphoria or dejection. It is only absolutely clear that the apartheid regime is doomed. By all indication, in Pretoria they come to realise this, too. Advance towards a dialogue was apparent in southern Africa over the recent months. But the changes have not yet become irreversible. International cooperation should be devoloped, he said.

The Soviet foreign minister emphasized that a clash in southern Africa would be an inordinately high price to pay for the abolishment of apartheid. It will not decide cardinal problems of the country, but will only multiply them. "We deeply believe that all countries of the region, the opposition forces, the world powers, the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity must show high political responsibility so that the way out be found through dialogue."

The Soviet minister also noted the importance of economic restructuring of the world, of transition from a military-oriented economy to a new economic order.

"The Soviet Union favours the internationalisation of approaches to the settlement of the debts, the working out of universal rules of conducts in various areas of international economic affairs."

Shevardnadze noted that Zimbabwe's vigorous peaceful policy aimed at fair solution to most complex world problems is a tangible contribution to the improvement of the world climate.

In his speech, Nathan Shamuyarira, in his turn, pointed to the closeness of Zimbabwe's and the Soviet Union's viewpoints on various international and regional problems.

"We believe new political thinking in your country was a huge contribution to the present positive changes in the world," he said. He pointed to the conclusion of the treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, the implementation of the UN Security Council's Resolution 435 on Namibia, and the efforts to achieve peace in Afghanistan.

The Zimbabwean minister expressed the confidence that Shevardnadze's visit will consolidate friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Zimbabwe.

Praises Relations With Zimbabwe

LD2403112190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1035 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Report by TASS special correspondents Sergey Nikishov, Yuriy Pichugin, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Harare, 24 Mar—"Traditionally good relations exist between the Soviet Union and Zimbabwe. I would say that they are exemplary relations between two states," Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, has stated. Before his flight from Harare at the end of his working visit to the Republic of Zimbabwe, he stressed that relations between the two countries are based on the principles of complete equal rights, mutual respect, mutual understanding and interaction, and that during the talks which took place "we managed to further strengthen the foundations of our relations and our friendship".

E.A. Shevardnadze particularly noted the good level of development in political relations. Economic ties are lagging behind them to a considerable extent. During the talks, however, the sides reached the conclusion that "there are great, unused opportunities for the development of economic cooperation".

"We managed to discuss all the main problems," E.A. Shevardnadze noted. "It is pleasant to state that I did not detect any serious disagreements over current problems. There is a mutual readiness to intensify our interaction wherever it is possible and to coordinate our efforts in order to facilitate the solution of today's complex international problems."

Replying to journalists' questions, the USSR foreign minister expressed the hope that everything that had been said recently by RSA President Frederik de Klerk about dismantling apartheid was in accord with his convictions. "I formed the impression," he stressed, "that the president realizes that apartheid is an anachronism in our age. The elimination of apartheid will be a major event of the end of the present century."

E.A Shevardnadze indicated that a settlement of the conflict situations in Angola and Mozambique would be facilitated by the readiness of the leaders of these countries and the opposition forces to conduct a dialogue, and also to the interest of the "Frontline States and of all countries of Africa in a peaceful resolution of this issue. He reported that during his talks with James Baker, the U.S. Secretary of State, an accord was reached to assist the implementation of policies of national reconciliation in Angola and Mozambique.

Answering a question by TASS correspondents, Nathan Shamuryarira, the minister of foreign affairs of Zimbabwe, called political relations with the Soviet Union outstanding. He acknowledged the necessity for improving economic cooperation and singled out a number of spheres in which both countries have opportunities for developing mutually advantageous links.

Departs Zimbabwe for Tanzania

LD2403101590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0940 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Harare, 24 Mar (TASS)—USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today left Harare for Dar es Salaam. He was seen off at the airport by Zimbabwean Foreign Minister N. Shamuyarira.

Arrives in Tanzania 24 Mar

LD2403123790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1145 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Dar es Salaam, 24 Mar (TASS)—TASS special correspondents Vladimir Novikov and Georgiy Shmelev report: Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, arrived here today from Harare for a short working visit. He was met at the airport by Benjamin Mkapa, foreign minister of the United Republic of Tanzania, and other officials. A.N. Gogitidze, the USSR's charge d'affaires ad interim in Tanzania was among those meeting him.

The Soviet minister is making a nine-day visit to a number of African countries: He has visited Angola, Zambia, and Namibia where he took part in the celebrations of that country's independence, and also Mozambique and Zimbabwe. He ends his trip with a working visit to Nigeria on 25-26 March.

This is the first visit to tropical Africa by a head of the Soviet foreign political department in the whole history of Soviet-African relations. The visit to Tanzania will include meetings and talks with the country's top leadership—President Ali Hassan Mwinyi; First Vice-President and Prime Minister Joseph Warioba; and Foreign Minister B. Mkapa.

Issues Greetings to Tanzania

LD2403170690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1400 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Dar es Salaam, 24 March (TASS)—A statement made by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee's Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, made on arrival in Dar es Salaam today on a short working visit, has been distributed here. It says: I am happy to arrive in the country above which Kilimanjaro reigns. That "glistening hill," a great summit in Africa, is in my eyes a symbol of the aspirations of Tanzania and the entire continent. The ascent has begun, it is proceeding with difficulty, but the summit of peace and love, harmony, and prosperity will be reached.

Our journey to you is very far, but, as members of the one family of humanity, we are very close to each other.

Here on African soil, I have once more been able to see this. I cannot fail to recall that it is precisely Tanzania, one of the first African countries to acquire independence, that has done so much for the liberation of Africa and for the assertion of universal, humanist principles in international relations.

Our countries are bound by traditionally strong ties of friendship. We are sure that the forthcoming exchange of opinions on the most burning problems of modern times will enable to us to bring out positions still closer in the name of building a safer and non-violent world.

We would like to convey to the inhabitants of the city of Dar es Salaam and to the entire Tanzanian people wishes for success and prosperity.

Meets Tanzanian President

LD2403171290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1410 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Dar es Salaam, 24 March (TASS)—TASS special correspondents Vladimir Novikov and Georgiy Shmelev report:

In the Tanzanian capital today there was a meeting at the presidental pallace between President Ali Hassan Mwinyi of the United Republic of Tanzania and E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister.

Answering questions from TASS correspondents at the end of the meeting, President Mwinyi said in particular: My conversation with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze touched upon a very broad range of issues concerning both the international situation—in particular the significance of Soviet-U.S rapprochement and cooperation for the destinies of other peoples—and also regional matters, above all the present changes in southern Africa.

Naturally, the president went on to say, we consider the whole score of our bilateral links. I must say that they are excellent in my opinion. We are totally satisfied with the way they are developing and the direction in which they are developing. I am absolutely sure that the Soviet minister's present visit will make it possible for us to understand each other's intentions even better and to define the prospects for our cooperation.

In conclusion President Mwinyi emphasized: We in Tanzania have been greatly impressed by the great changes taking place in the world, especially in the Soviet Union, and we are sure of their positive and constructive influence on the fates of the peoples of the globe as a whole.

After his conversation with the president, E.A. Shevardnadze went to the residence of Joseph Warioba, Tanzania's first vice president and prime minister, where Soviet-Tanzanian talks began.

Makes Statement on Leaving Tanzania

LD2503113390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0953 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] Dar es Salaam, 25 March (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, who was in Tanzania on a brief working visit, left Dar es Salaam today by air for Lagos, the capital of Nigeria. At the airport he was seen off by Benjamin Mkapa, the foreign minister of the United Republic of Tanzania, and other officials. Those seeing him off included Aleksandr Gogitidze, USSR charge d'affaires ad interim in Tanzania.

Before his departure by air from the Tanzanian capital, Shevardnadze said: "Before leaving Dar es Salaam I should like once again to thank the people and leaders of Tanzania for the attention and hospitality extended to us. Our African 'marathon' is nearing its end. Its Tanzanian stage was a brief one, but I regard its political results as very weighty, since we understood each other well and it was not difficult for us to agree. Our talks allowed the two sides to compare their views on a wide range of issues, especially on southern Africa. I consider that a broad similarity of philosophical and political approaches to the whole range of problems was revealed. This is particularly important when history is sharply increasing its pace."

"With the proclamation of Namibian independence," the minister went on to say, "much has changed in the region of southern Africa. It is possible, perhaps, to assert that the changes that have commenced are in any event irreversible, although there may indeed be difficulties, and even temporary regression. The sides equally consider that the actions of all states and all the political forces involved in the processes occurring in southern Africa should be highly responsible. There is no doubting the fact that the elimination of apartheid should be achieved in a situation of a strengthening of general security in the region."

"Our meeting," Shevardnadze said, "was a new page in our bilateral relations. The discussion on this theme was thorough and committed. From it I draw the following conclusion: Both sides want their mutual relations to develop and be enriched. In this respect we have both fine prospects and also problems waiting to be solved, but the most important thing is the joint desire for cooperation."

"We take away with us the very best impressions of your country. We now understand why the name of your capital means in translation 'harbour of peace', and not only of peace, I would add, but also friendship and human warmth. Many thanks for all this," Shevardnadze emphasized.

With the visit to Nigeria the USSR foreign minister concludes his trip to a number of African countries. He has visited Angola, Zambia, and Namibia, where he took part in the celebrations to mark the proclamation of the country's independence, as well as Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Tanzania.

Arrives in Nigeria 25 Mar

LD2503180690 Moscow TASS in English 1753 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Report by TASS special correspondents Nikolay Shartse and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Lagos March 25 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze arrived here today from Dar es Salaam for a two-day working visit.

In the airport, he was welcomed by Nigerian Foreign Minister Rilwanu Lukman and other officials, including Soviet charge d'affairs in Nigeria A. Burdakin.

Nigeria is the last country in Shevardnadze's nine-day African tour, which included Angola, Zambia, Namibia, where the Soviet foreign minister took part in independence celebrations and signed a communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Namibia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Tanzania.

In Lagos, Shevardnadze is expected to hold talks with President Ibrahim Babangida and Foreign Minister Lukman.

On arrival in Lagos, the following Shevardnadze's statement was circulated here:

I am glad to visit the ancient and hospitable Nigeria. Having lived through so many glorious events in the past, it is now a showcase of African people's striving for progress and their desire to preserve their ancestral values.

I want to express my respect for the Nigerian people and praise their congribution to international culture. The Soviet Union attaches great importance to our relations wtih Nigeria. This is not simply due to the traditionally friendly relations between our two countries and to the acknowledgement of the immense human and economic potential of your country and its prominent standing in the world.

We are impressed by Nigeria's efforts to ensure stability and security and expand mutually-beneficial international cooperation.

We have much to discuss with Nigerian leaders—both in the sphere of international relations, including those relating to Africa, and bilateral relations and ways to expand them.

Over the past few days, we have twice crossed the Equator and visited seven countries. This shows that important changes are underway in our African policy.

We want to understand the problems and aspirations of the Africans better, base our relations on an open and unbiased dialogue and coordinate our efforts for peace and security.

All this gives us ground to believe that the forthcoming dialogue will be frank and fruitful and will deepen understanding between our two countries.

Talks With Nigerian Counterpart

LD2603130690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Station correspondent Vladimir Zhuravlev report from Lagos, Nigeria]

[Text] USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze is touring the sub-Saharan African countries. Taking into account this fact, it is only natural that the head of the Soviet foreign policy department is interested in the African giant, as Nigeria is often referred to, because of its large economic potential and the largest population on the continent: one in four Africans lives in Nigeria. Eduard Shevardnadze said this in a short talk with Rilwanu Lukman, Nigerian minister of external affairs, who met him at the airport. When I was flying to Nigeria, Eduard Shevardnadze said, I was thinking how wrong it is that we meet so seldom. I believe that we have very many common interests, and we have something to talk about. We are major powers, and there is a need to meet more often and to hold consultations to solve the problems of mutual interest, Eduard Shevardnadze said.

In reply, Rilwanu Lukman, Nigerian minister of external affairs, described Soviet-Nigerian relations as excellent. It is well known that the Soviet Union and Nigeria have much in common in their approaches to international problems. Nigeria and the USSR cooperate closely in a number of major international problems. This cooperation is beneficial not only to our two countries but to the whole world, Rilwanu Lukman said. As for African problems, he continued, we are together here, too. We united our actions, particularly, in the struggle against apartheid, and for declaration of independence of Namibia. Rilwanu Lukman expressed his great appreciation of economic assistance, provided by the USSR to Nigeria. The USSR, in particular, is cooperating in the construction of a major industrial enterprise, the metallurgical combine in Ajaokuta.

The program of the short working visit of Eduard Shevardnadze in Nigeria includes talks with Rilwanu Lukman, minister of external affairs, and also a meeting with President Ibrahim Babangida.

Meets Nigerian President

LD2603110190 Moscow TASS in English 1044 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Lagos March 26 TASS—President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria received Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in the State House government residence here today.

Shevardnadze is currently here on a working visit.

Nigeria is the final leg of his first tour of a number of African countries. During the nine-day tour he visited Angola, Zambia, Namibia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Tanzania.

Today, under the visit programme, Shevarnadze is expected to meet his Nigerian counterpart Rilwanu Lukman and to hold a concluding news conference dealing with the results of his African tour.

More on Shevardnadze Talks With Mozambique Leader

PM2603101990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Mar 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Good Fruit"]

[Text] Maputo, 23 Mar—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, paid a working visit Thursday [22 March] to Mozambique, where he held talks with Joaquim Chissano, chairman of the Mozambique Liberation Front and the country's president. Cordial greetings were conveyed to the Mozambican president on behalf of Soviet President M.S. Gorbachev. People in our country, J. Chissano said, are following with admiration the Soviet leader's efforts to restructure society, and we wish him success. E.A. Shevardnadze talked candidly and in detail about the current stage of perestroyka, the difficulties along this path, and the steps being taken to eradicate them. It was stressed that it is perhaps only now that real socialism—that is, a society which will serve people—is starting to be built.

For his part J. Chissano gave information about the economic, social, and political situation in Mozambique. He talked about the implementation of the plans for democratization, the liberation of economic initiative, and the enhancement of the people's living standards.

Considerable attention was devoted to questions of the state and development of Soviet-Mozambican relations. Emphasis was laid on making economic ties more efficient and mutually advantageous. The debt problem will probably look different in this context, too. The Mozambican president accepted the Soviet minister's proposal to set up a group of prestigious experts to make an in-depth, long-term analysis of the basic problems of Soviet-Mozambican cooperation in various spheres.

The discussion on international problems noted the favorable impact on the global climate of the warming of the atmosphere in East-West relations. This is also having a positive effect in the southern Africa region.

J. Chissano talked about his government's approach to the settlement of the Mozambican internal conflict by political means, and mentioned what other countries—including the Soviet Union—could do to help this process along.

On the whole the Maputo talks demonstrated the two countries' intention, starting from the level of ties achieved during many years of cooperation, to improve and maintain those ties at the proper level, which accords with the fundamental interests of the two countries and peoples.

Harare, 23 Mar—E.A. Shevardnadze arrived in the Zimbabwean capital Thursday on a working visit.

Zimbabwe's Mugabe Assesses Shevardnadze Visit

PM2603114490 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by unidentified TASS special correspondent under general heading "Visit Continues"]

[Text] Harare, 24 Mar—The Zimbabwean people assess highly the activity of President M.S. Gorbachev, who initiated the process of perestroyka, which is having a highly positive effect on the fate of all mankind, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe stated in an interview for TASS correspondents at the end of the talks with E.A. Shevardnadze.

This process is approved and welcomed everywhere, the Zimbabwean head of state noted. The Soviet leader's initiatives have led to positive developments as regards the strengthening of peace and stability on the planet. They also influence the situation in our region. The attainment of independence for Namibia can serve as an example here. The preconditions have also emerged for democratic changes in South Africa. And we hope that the Soviet Union will continue to be in the vanguard of all peace-loving forces.

Dwelling on the results of the conversation with the USSR foreign minister, the Zimbabwean president described them as "positive in the highest degree." He pointed to the wide range of questions discussed, including, in particular, the situation in southern Africa and the developing events in Eastern Europe and in the international arena in general. Particular attention was devoted to an examination of the changes determined by the policy of glasnost and perestroyka. "We have common views," R. Mugabe noted. "People in Zimbabwe believe that socialism is not giving ground, but that a certain reassessment of values is taking place, which will culminate eventually in success."

Robert Mugabe described as "excellent" the present state of Soviet-Zimbabwean relations. He expressed the desire for them to continue to develop successfully, in particular in the sphere of the economy, where, in his view, there are still considerable reserves.

Tanzanian Leader Comments on Shevardnadze Talks

LD2403205990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1910 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Dar es Salaam, 24 March (TASS)—TASS special correspondents Vladimir Novikov and Georgiy Shmelev report:

Talks between J. Warioba, first vice president and premier of the United Republic of Tanzania, and E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, ended here today.

The Soviet minister is making a brief working visit here as part of his trip to a number of countries on the African Continent.

Asked by TASS correspondents to comment on the results of the talks, Benjamin Mkapa, Tanzanian minister of foreign affairs, said that this was a profound, fruitful and useful dialogue. The range of issues discussed was quite broad. The problems of southern Africa were touched upon, in the light of the changes taking place there, and in particular the proclamation of the independence of Namibia. I consider, B. Mkapa stressed, that the Namibian factor should play its role in resolving the problem of the region.

Of course, we also discussed the changes taking place in Europe and the USSR, the Tanzanian minister commented. Perestroyka and democratization in your country cannot but have an impact on developments worldwide, and particularly on events in Africa. On universal and global problems, the issue of establishing a new economic order was discussed in most detail.

B. Mkapa pointed out that issues of bilateral relations between our countries were at the center of the talks. Both sides pointed out that there are considerable reserves here. These primarily involve the need to expand trade and economic cooperation. The changes under way in Tanzania and the USSR are creating favorable conditions for raising these relations to the same high level at which political and interparty ties have traditionally developed.

TASS on Shevardnadze's Tanzania Visit

LD2503080790 Moscow TASS in English 0755 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] Dar es Salaam March 25 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who arrived in Tanzania on a working visit, was received by President 'Ali Hassan Mwinyi. The talk focused on key issues of the present-day situation in the world.

Shevardanzde conveyed the best wishes to the president and the people of Tanzania from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. Mwinyi asked to convey congratulations to Gorbachev on his election as president of the USSR.

Mwinyi said that the creation of this post was an exceptionally wise step, adding strength to perestroyka, with whose goal Tanzania fully agreed.

Mwinyi praised the Soviet Union's assistance to the efforts to establish peace in the South of Africa, the USSR's contribution to Namibian independence, and approved the Soviet leadership's initiatives for disarmament.

Noting that East-West confrontation is senseless, Mwinyi, at the same time, expressed the hope that their rapprochement would not lead to a situation where the Third World will appear to be forgotten.

Shevardnadze showed understanding of this formulation of the issue. "Indeed, much time has to be spent on contacts with representatives of the Western world. First, Soviet policy in this direction is dictated by national interests. Second, we felt that without disarmament talks, we will have no prospects for solving global issues. Efforts to put an end to the cold war and launch the process to free up financial resources have succeeded now," Shevardnadze said.

"In principle, I am against opposing south to north and east to west. All of us are an integral and interrelated world. If we manage to reduce military spending, we will find a solution to economic and other vital issues.

"The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that the Third World should not find itself on the periphery of world development. We will remain as ever the friends of the developing countries," Shevardnadze stressed.

The talks also concerned some other global isues and Soviet-Tanzanian relations. The sides expressed satisfaction that there was much common ground in the two countries' positions.

Shevardnadze also met Tanzanian Prime Minister and First Vice-President Joseph Warioba. He told him about numerous talks which he conducted during his tour of African countries. The main impression, which he got from these talks, is that the region needs peace and tranquility.

People got tired of war. The time has come seriously to address the problems of peace in Angola and Mozambique. Shevardnadze said that necessary external conditions were shaping up for this: The gaining of independence by Namibia and positive shifts in South Africa.

"Mutual understanding achieved with Americans on these issues should be helpful", he said. "Certainly, the United States pursues its own goals. But continued armed confrontation in Angola and Mozambique is not in its interests. Elements of flexibility began to be discerned in the U.S. position," he said.

Warioba concurred with this analysis of the situation in the areas of southern Afirca, which are torn by conflicts, and underlined the need for an early peace.

During the exchange of views on the development of the situation in South Africa, both sides voiced the hope that the first steps would be followed up by further bold decisions, which would result in the dismantling of apartheid.

Warioba emphasised that there was enhanced interest in Soviet perestroyka in Tanzania. Shevardnadze described it as the shaping up of a new image of socialism in conditions of the scientific-technical revolution. "humanism, democratism and the overcoming of man's alientation from the means of production are its salient features," he said.

Warioba said that Tanzanians admired the boldness with which transformations are enacted in the USSR. He said that by their impact on the world they could be likened to the October Revolution.

"Difficulties on this path are inevitable. But we hope and are convinced that you will continue to pursue this course and achieve success."

Shevardnadze and Warioba stated that political relations between the USSR and Tanzania were in an excellent state. There is full mutual understanding between them and good interaction on the international scene.

Economic relations are lagging behind, although the sprouts of the new are coming forth here, too. Economic reforms in the USSR and Tanzania are opening up new opportunities to forge sensible and mutually beneficial cooperation.

Both sides expressed interest in further strengthening diversified ties and contacts between the USSR and Tanzania.

East Europe

Temporary NATO Membership of Germany Accepted

AU2303194490 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1800 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Interview with Valentin Falin, head of the Department for International Affairs of the CPSU Central Committee, by Karl-Heinz Wilsing on 23 March in Luxembourg—recorded]

[Text] [Wilsing] Mr. Falin, is it true that the Soviet Union is willing to temporarily accept NATO membership of a united Germany?

[Falin] Yes, exactly. First of all, we need the final goal. This must be clarified. This is the optimum solution for the all- European security. Then we will jointly strive for this goal. Second, the GDR must not be released from its obligations toward the Warsaw Pact.

Falin Explains German Military Neutralization

PM2203154290 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 21 Mar 90 p 4

[Interview with CPSU Central Committee International Relations Department Director Valentin Falin by Marcello Villari; date, place not given]

[Text] Moscow—The election result in East Germany permits us to expect the establishment of a government strongly influenced, on the reunification issue, by Kohl's stances. Is the USSR worried by the election result? Valentin Falin, CPSU Central Committee member and an expert on German affairs, talked to us about the Soviet initiative and said: "We must distinguish between two factors: First, the general elections are an internal matter which only indirectly concerns the international aspects of unification."

[Villari] The United States makes NATO membership a kind of precondition of unification. Is the neutrality of a "greater Germany" a precondition for the USSR?

[Falin] If the negotiators start setting preconditions before beginning to negotiate it means that they do not want the negotiations to succeed. So we set no preconditions but, rather, clearly indicate the principle on which basis it is possible to negotiate, namely: No threat of war against anyone must emanate from Germany's territory. So it is necessary to find a model that will rule out such a threat from the outset, both now and in the future.

[Villari] Do you consider acceptable the French proposal of a Germany that is a NATO member, but with Atlantic alliance troops present only in the western part of the country, while Soviet troops could remain in the Eastern part?

[Falin] This is one of the formulas with which people are trying to calculate how to square the circle. A Hungarian mathematician claims to have resolved this problem, but the politicians have not yet succeeded. I believe that if we want to emerge for good from World War II and from the cold war we must not drag along from the old days terms and institutions that are now obsolete, but must think in new terms—those of an undivided but shared security based not on strength but on coexistence.

[Villari] Some countries—including in the Warsaw Pact—believe that a possible future German neutrality is dangerous. All in all, a "greater Germany" incorporated into one of the military alliances would be easier to control. Do you consider this anxiety justified?

[Falin] I believe that they are not afraid of a Germany with a limited military strength. Their fear in fact reflects a certain misunderstanding of our positions. What does it mean that there must be no threat from German territory to its neighbors or to peace throughout the world (an idea which, for that matter, is present in the Potsdam Treaty, which furthermore is an international agreement that is still in force)? It means that from the military—and I repeat, military—viewpoint Germany will be neutral, that is, it will not belong to military blocs and will not make its territory available to any bloc for us against other states. How is it possible to perceive a threat in these ideas? If you look at them impartially and objectively they are not only the best solution but the only possible solution that takes account of everyone's—and not just the Europeans'—interests and that does not violate the Germans' own interests. So we do not talk about German neutrality; we talk about military neutralization, that is, nonparticipation in other countries' military activities and the relinquishment of military activity of its own that is incompatible with anyone else's interests. I see that our position is being deliberately distorted in the West—either by portraying it as complete neutralization or by presenting a German commitment not to participate in military activity or to make its territory available to others for military actions as a discrimination. Obviously these assessments do not stand up to the facts. In certain disputatious remarks, often cunningly encouraged, I perceive the resurgence of ideas held by Foster Dulles, that is, belonging to the cold war era when the latter regarded neutrality as equivalent in practice to not being allies of the United States—an amoral stance.

[Villari] Are you not worried by a "greater Germany" spreading its influence eastward? Not many people in the West are happy about what is happening, for other reasons.

[Falin] We follow such ideas closely. We even notice that certain figures are already thinking about the next step after German unification and how much of the results of World War II could be eliminated from the East, though not only the East. I would not call them proper plans, but they are certainly intentions. I believe that this issue is in the air and must be regarded with the seriousness that it deserves, because we must not allow European and world stability to be attacked.

[Villari] Some examples of these intentions?

[Falin] Of course: how to separate the Baltic republics, Belorussia, or the Ukraine from the USSR.

Situation in Romania's Tirgu Mures Reported

LD2303123790 Moscow TASS in English 1218 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Tirgu Mures—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Morozov:

Many enterprises, secondary and two higher schools—medico-pharmaceutical and theatrical—remained closed on Thursday.

The local Hungarian language newspaper published an appeal of the district Hungarian Democratic Union calling for putting up signs in two languages in all residential areas where the Hungarian minority lives.

It demanded that Hungarians be granted the opportunity to receive education in their own language and the Poliai University be restored. If these requirement are not met, the newspaper writes, the Union will call a general strike in Romania on March 30.

Rumours are rife in the town about a possible walk out by industrial workers and the arrival of people from neighboring areas. An additional reinforcement of 300 paratroopers have been sent to the town to strengthen law and order.

A government commission, headed by First Deputy Prime Minister Gelu Voican Voiculescu, continues work here in the Provisional National Reconciliation Council's headquarters building, guarded by troops. The commission has released a communique pointing out that it is working in a spirit of reconciliation and cooperation and called upon the population to abstain from demonstrations and resume work.

The CUVINTUL LIBER Romanian language newspaper writes: "After what has happened here, how can we resort to arguments, apologies and accusations and look for those who were the first to start it all? Both Romanians and Hungarians, whose reason is not overclouded with passion, must explain to their acquaintances, friends and relatives that it must not happen again".

However, a group of people arrived in the central square at midday, waving Romanian flags and chanting "We shall die, but defend the motherland", "All Romania is with us". By 17:00 the crowd surrounded the town hall chanting "rights, not privileges", and "Let the Romanian language prevail".

Members of the government commission came out to talk to protesters. A leader of the Romanian Hearth Union told the crowd that the Provincial [as received] National Reconciliation Council would meet soon to discuss personnel changes.

Premier on Tigru Mures Clashes

LD2303083890 Moscow TASS in English 0815 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Paris March 23 TASS—The situation in Tigru Mures can now be described as tranquil. However, one cannot say that the tension has been completely eliminated, Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman told the French TF-1 TV company.

According to Roman, three people were killed and almost 300 wounded in interethnic clashes in the Transylvanian city. The prime minister noted that violence in Tigru Mures shocked Romania and the West, particularly because it happened after the December revolution Romania.

The violence was "artificially stirred up" by extremists, who are, probably, acting "both inside and outside of Romania", Roman said. He noted that Romanians must clarify the situation and bring those guilty to court.

Transylvania's separation from Romania is out of question, as it has always been a part of Romania, the prime minister stressed.

The Romanian leadership is seeking a dialogue with representatives of the Hungarian minority, Roman noted.

Romanian Leader Greets Gorbachev on Election

PM2303100390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Undated message from Ion Iliescu, chairman of the Romanian Provisional Council for National Accord, to M.S. Gorbachev]

[Text] To Mikhail Sergeyevich Iliescu, president of the USSR

I send you cordial congratulations and best wishes for success in your responsible activity on the occasion of your election to the lofty post of president of the USSR.

I am sure that lasting relations of friendship, good-neighborliness and cooperation between Romania and the USSR will develop steadily in the interests of our peoples and countries and of peace and stability in Europe and throughout the world.

[Signed] Ion Iliescu, chairman of the Romanian Provisional Council for National Accord.

TASS Cites Hungarian Statement on Romania

LD2303123190 Moscow TASS in English 1206 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest March 23 TASS—The Hungarian Government considers the Romanian Government's claims about outside interference into Romanian internal affairs groundless, a statement by the Hungarian Government says.

It was also noted that the Hungarian side has addressed the Romanian Government through diplomatic channels with a request to carry out an objective investigation of developments in Tirgu Mures, to identify those guilty and to make them answer for their actions.

Early Hungarian Election Results Reported

LD2603105790 Moscow TASS in English 1042 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest March 26 TASS—By TASS correspondent Sergey Ivanov:

The Central Electoral Commission continues to sum up the results of Sunday's first multi-party parliamentary elections in 40 years.

Almost 18 per cent of voting protocols have been processed. According to the preliminary unofficial estimates, the Hungarian Democratic Forum may count on 24 per cent of the votes throughout Hungary and the Alliance of Free Democrats on 20 per cent.

They are followed by the Independent Smallholders Party (13 per cent), the Hungarian Socialist Party (ten per cent), the Federation of Young Democrats (eight per cent), the Christian Democratic People's Party (six per cent), the Agrarian Union (four per cent), the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (3.5 per cent), the Hungarian Social Democratic Party (three per cent), the Party of Entrepreneurs (two per cent) and the Patariotic Election Coalition (two percent).

The election results are now being processed in the Heves region. About 50 per cent of voting protocols have been considered here. There has been no reports from the Nograd region due to a failure in the electronic vote counting system.

Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission Janos Nemeth told an international news conference in the Hungarian parliament that the preliminary unofficial election results on the basis of 50 per cent of voting protocols are expected this afternoon.

In accordance with the election law, the commission will announce the first unofficial results of elections throughout Hungary in the evening.

PRAVDA Views Hungarian Parties' Prospects

PM2303171590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Mar 90 Second Edition p 5

[Dispatch by PRAVDA correspondent V. Gerasimov: "Not Avoiding Heated Feelings. Hungary on Eve of Parliamentary Elections"]

[Excerpt] Budapest, March—[passage omitted] On the walls of apartment blocks and on billboards you can see different placards, banners, and pictures of the candidates for the new parliament, to which elections will be held 25 March. The 50 registered parties started their election campaigns a couple of months ago. Only 12 parties have come through to the finish.

"The Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] is running 175 candidates in the 176 individual constituencies," Jozsef Meruk, leader of the MSZP Electoral Bureau, told me. "This is already an important victory. The opposition parties would like to create a parliament without socialists, without left-wing forces. But it is already obvious that MSZP representatives will be part of the parliament. Our voters are attracted by the fact that 70 percent of our candidates are people aged between 30 and 50. What do we consider the shortcoming? Not enough workers. But, on the other hand, the level of educated people and trained specialists is high."

We were talking in the MSZP Board building. J. Meruk, once a well-known journalist (he represented a central newspaper in Moscow and had recently worked in Spain) is now also the chief of the MSZP International Department. I accompanied him to the electoral bureau, where outsiders are not permitted. Through the open door I could see computers on tables and plates on the walls bearing the candidates' names. Which of them will get through? A poster which I took as a memento depicted the five most famous and "powerful" personalities in the country—Imre Pozsgay, Rezso Nyers, Gyula Horn, Matyas Szuros, and Miklos Nemeth—standing, arms linked, surrounded by children. One can assume that they will become deputies. After all, on the second ballot paper which they will receive the voters will vote for a party—another 152 seats will be at stake on this basis, and a further 58 seats will be determined on the basis of national party lists. The chance of parties' "main forces" getting through are thereby increased.

The "big five" on the MSZP list make up precisely such a group. Admittedly, a NEPSZABADSAG artist, having done a friendly drawing of the "big five" with parliament in the background, had drawn a black cat running between the legs of the last two "sincere friends." In general it must be said that the crisis in the country's economy, the different assessments of the pressure from international financial organizations, their direct diktat, and the acute and unrestrained parliamentary battles have often led to a clash of opinions: The departure of Prime Minister M. Nemeth from the MSZP Presidium is an example of that. And there was the MSZP leadership criticism of one of Foreign Minister G. Horn's proposals—on Hungary's joining the NATO political organizations.

Talking about the party's chances in the elections, MSZP Chairman R. Nyers said:

"In any event the MSZP will be among the four largest parties—that is, it stands a chance of being among the top three. As for participating in the leadership of the country, the MSZP will only take part if it is able to carry out its proposals."

Public opinion polls show that around 11 percent of voters intend to vote for the MSZP.

I recently heard the following:

"What do the MSZP and the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] want?"

"For there to be socialism. Both parties are left-wing and based on the workers movement."

"And what don't they want?"

"Each other!"

That is the latest anecdote being told by Hungarian wags. And although, as in any joke, there is a certain amount of exaggeration in it, it is still a fact that the MSZP and the MSZMP cannot yet find common ground for cooperation and partnership, let alone joint operations.

The MSZMP Central Committee is housed in a former regional committee building. Regular publication of the newspaper SZABADSAG has been organized. After its "two-stage" 14th Congress the MSZMP grew stronger organizationally, ideologically, and in human terms.

"We now have 81,000 members," 36-year-old Gyula Thurmer, chairman of the MSZMP, answered my question. "Our party has been renewed, but it does not reject its history, political legacy, or reforms. We openly advocate socialism and remain a working class, Marxist party. We are also fighting for the interests of all working people and the intelligentsia. We are clearly defining our social orientation. I often attend rallies and meetings: Many people in Hungary do not want capitalism, and support us Communists. We advocate collective forms of ownership and the enhancement of its effectiveness, and we do not believe that private ownership will solve our economic difficulties."

In its election program the MSZMP states its desire to produce a considerable left-wing presence in the future parliament.

"Voters have nominated 87 Communists as parliamentary candidates," he continued. "Very many of them are young people. The lists include none of the previous MSZMP leaders. Except that J. Berecz has been nominated in an individual constituency. It should also be said that we have managed to overcome the friction in the upper echelons of the MSZMP—friction which naturally arose after the announcement of the creation of a socialist party and in the process of the work to renew the MSZMP—essentially, to create a new party."

What is the MSZMP's "rating"? Polls put the figure at four percent. That is already the danger zone. The Hungarian Social Democratic Party is in the same danger zone. Only five percent of voters would vote for its deputies.

...A green cap. A thick, wrinkled neck. A uniform covering a broad back. And a Russian inscription: "The end, Comrade." This is the election poster of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] (22,000 members). This party, widely supported by the intelligentsia, outstrips all others in popularity—it is expected to win 21 percent of the vote. It has candidate deputies in all 176 constituencies. Its chairman, the historian Jozsef Antall, is already being penciled in as prime minister on today's "opposition benches."

"The final result of the peaceful transition is not the replacement of the system—as it is fashionable to claim—but the alteration of the political system," he told journalists.

The MDF states "The end, Comrade" because it rejects the "enforced Eastern model" and opposes the slavish imitation of foreign models. State ownership should be reduced in favor of private ownership. But the privatization process must be carried out under social oversight so as to prevent abuses. Full legalization of the market is impermissible: Lack of controls could lead to a narrow group getting rich while the poor ended up getting poorer. Land will be returned to the peasants by means of redistribution. A long-term aim is to achieve the status of a neutral country. Good relations with both the USSR and the United States are of identical importance.

The Independent Smallholders' Party is very close to the MDF. Some 16 percent of voters have expressed the intention to vote for it.

One could compile a group portrait of those parties which reject the "third way." It is necessary to join Europe and reject the "Stalinist model." But this could only happen if Hungary espoused the capitalist countries' economic and political structures with up to 95 percent of the economy being privately owned. But if, following denationalization, foreign ownership in the country reached excessive levels, it would have to be limited by law. Hungary should leave the Warsaw Pact and register its neutrality. Such programs are being put forward by the Alliance of Free Democrats (18 percent of votes) and the Alliance of Young Democrats (seven percent), which have close links to and are financially supported and backed by Western entrepreneurs and funds. Hungarian political scientists have dubbed these and similar views—which have a considerable number of adherents—"radical liberalism."

Will the residents of the flimsy apartment blocks benefit from these "party shenanigans"? So far polls show that almost 50 percent of the country's inhabitants are not keen to vote. Voices of annoyance and dissatisfaction with the state of affairs have been loudly raised on the "streets." That is why museums and monuments to V.I. Lenin are being scrapped, streets are being renamed, and old coats of arms and symbols are being "blown up."

Meanwhile a disputatious spring has come to Budapest. And although Hungary will be unable to avoid heated feelings during this spring, no party wants the "streets" to get out of hand. Real life will suggest its solutions leading to the stability which everyone needs so much.

Hungary's Szuros Wishes Gorbachev Success

PM2303105790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Undated message of congratulations from Matyas Szuros, acting Hungarian president, to M.S. Gorbachev on his election as USSR president]

[Text] To President of the USSR Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev

On behalf of the Hungarian Republic, its government and people I send you best wishes on your election as president of the USSR.

I wish you success in this lofty post in implementing the new thinking and democratic transformations in the Soviet Union, and in creating a peaceful and secure world.

I am sure, Mr. President, that strengthening equal good-neighborly ties and relations of the new type between our countries and peoples will remain our common striving in the future.

[Signed] Matyas Szuros, acting president of Hungary

Hungarian Airline Refuses USSR Jews, Explains

PM2603113790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "We Cannot Take the Risk"]

[Text] It has already been announced that Hungary's Malev Airline has decided to immediately stop carrying former Soviet citizens leaving for permanent residence in Israel on its flights.

"The report is correct by and large," Janos Papp, head of the Malev mission in Moscow, told a TASS correspondent. "However, events are still developing and in the current situation Malev is forced to extend its decision to those who have already obtained tickets. However, it does not apply to other categories of passengers who intend to use our services on the aforementioned routes. I would remind you that this was all sparked off by the statement circulated 16 March by the Islamic Jihad ('Islamic Holy War') organization threatening terrorist action against all airlines carrying former Soviet citizens emigrating to Israel. We simply have no right to take risks with passenger safety and with our aircraft."

Hungarian-Soviet Trade Anomalies 'Sore Point'

PM2203113190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Mar 90 First Edition p 4

[Dispatvch from PRAVDA correspondent V. Gerasimov under the rubric "Countries of East Europe: Events, Facts, Commentaries": "In the Danger Zone"]

[Text] Budapest, 21 Mar—"The most dangerous area of the economy"—that is Hungarian specialists' opinion of Hungarian-Soviet trade. The first months of the year have already passed and no joint protocol has been signed.

A statement published by the Hungarian Council of Ministers says once again that Hungary's surplus of 1 billion rubles in trade with CEMA countries last year virtually means that it is giving these countries an interest-free loan. This fuels inflation and has other adverse consequences.

That is why the harsh quarterly licensing of exports for rubles will continue. But unlimited opportunities for barter commodity exchange have been granted. A joint-stock company will be set up to support and restructure those enterprises which have found themselves in a difficult position owing to a reduction in exports to the USSR.

Hungarian-Soviet commodity turnover is expected to drop by 20 percent in 1990. But for many Hungarian enterprises (a list of them was published recently) the volume of deliveries will drop by between two and five times. For instance, communications equipment to the value of R233.2 million was sold last year, whereas this year's figure is R42 million; the figures for computers and peripherals will drop from R210.3 million to R70.2 million.

The question of our countries' switching to trade at world prices in dollars is being actively discussed. Then the Soviet Union will have a surplus.

However the problems of Hungarian-Soviet commodity turnover may be resolved right now, they are still a sore point and will remain so for a long time. That is the reality and it must be taken into consideration.

Economic Talks 'Very Tense'

LD2203235190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1313 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, 22 March. (TASS)—Soviet-Hungarian economic talks have taken place here. Delegations from the two countries headed by S.A.Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and P. Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian Republic, took part.

At the talks there was discussion of questions connected with the changeover in Soviet-Hungarian trade and economic cooperation, planned from next year, to making payments at world prices and in freely convertible currency, of questions connected with the USSR's indebtedness to Hungary in connection with the changeover to the new conditions of trade and payments, and also of questions connected with the preparation of a protocol on trade exchange and payments for 1990.

The talks were very tense and the questions were put very acutely as the problems under discussion are of vital importance for the two countries. Eventually an accord was reached in principle on changing over from 1 January 1991 to a new economic mechanism of cooperation with payments in freely convertible currency at current world prices. Agreement was also reached on the volumes of the protocol on trade turnover and payments for 1990 which should be signed within two weeks.

Polish-U.S. Talks in Washington Reported

PM2603083190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Blinov: "United States-Poland: Shades of Disagreement"]

[Text] Washington—U.S.-Polish economic cooperation and the problem of ensuring European security amid the process of German unification with special stress on the question of guarantees of the inviolability of the postwar borders were the main topics of Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki's Washington talks. The head of the Polish Government was in the United States for a three-day visit, two days of which were occupied by meetings with President G. Bush.

Bush and Mazowiecki signed an agreement on U.S.-Polish business cooperation in the economic sphere—the first contractual document of this kind concluded between the United States and an East European country. It provides guarantees for U.S. private capital investments in Poland, stipulating, in particular, freedom to take out profits and protection for U.S. patents on computer programs. Bush informed Mazowiecki that restrictions on Polish citizens visiting the United States had been waived and told him that he had agreed to the opening of a Polish consulate in Los Angeles.

The U.S. President promised to help seek ways to ease the burden of Poland's foreign debt payments—U.S. experts estimate that it has reached $40 billion. It is well known that the United States previously promised to give Poland approximately $800 million over three years; this sum may increase if the Congress approves the administration's proposed new aid package for East European countries.

Polish delegation representatives and U.S. Administration officials admit that there were elements in both sides' approaches to problems of German unification which made it necessary to prolong the talks. T. Mazowiecki stressed the importance of ensuring the inviolability of Europe's postwar borders. He pointed to the need to ensure a "firm foundation" for European security with Polish participation in connection with the process of German unification. According to the Polish premier, a treaty guaranteeing the inviolability of the Polish borders must be concluded "rapidly and resolutely." It must be signed before steps are taken toward German unification and officially confirmed after this takes place.

"Poland must have a voice on any decisions that affect its future. We see a new Europe in which the security of all European states and their fundamental right to exist in conditions of security within their existing borders are fully guaranteed," Bush said at the welcome ceremony for the Polish leader. At the same time, administration representatives have made it known that during his conversations with Mazowiecki Bush indicated that Poland's involvement in talks on questions related to German unification must be confined to the border problem. According to him, the question of a treaty guaranteeing Poland's border "must be decided between Poles and Germans."

"The United States does not want to take a public stance regarding the Polish Government's attempts to secure an official agreement on Germany's borders prior to reunification," that is how an administration spokesman explained these words to a WASHINGTON POST correspondent.

According to press reports, Bush raised the question of Soviet-Polish relations during his talks with Mazowiecki. In particular, he allegedly expressed "surprise" that the Polish Government has not raised the question of the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland. The details of this discussion were not disclosed, but according to Mazowiecki no "points of uncertainty" ultimately remained between the two sides.

Commentary on Mazowiecki Visit

LD2103180190 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Excerpts] The Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki is expected on a six-day tour of the United States. Commentary is by Vladislav Kozyakov.

Prime Minister Mazowiecki is expected to hold talks with President Bush and meet the department secretaries and congressional members. No doubt featuring high on the agenda will be Poland's security and safeguards for the invoilability of its western borders following the process the German unification. [passage omitted]

The external aspects of German unity involve the invoilability of postwar frontiers in Europe, something that has received unequivocal Soviet support, and is known only too well in Poland. Officials in Warsaw have repeatedly stressed that relevant guarantees must also be given by the two superpowers, and Poland has already obtained Moscow's support. With the situation in Europe such as it is today, Warsaw wants Soviet troops deployed in Poland to continue remaining there. In the meantime the U.S. President's press secretary is quoted as saying recently that Soviet troops in Poland were an important factor of security guarantees for Poland's borders in the west. [passage omitted]

Given the widespread demands in West Germany, America's close ally in NATO, for a single Germany to be reinstated within the 1937 borders would mean incorporating nearly one third of today's Poland. (?Its move) for full guarantees that its western frontier would remain intact is well understood, therefore. (?More, as) Mr Zbgniew Brzezinski remarked recently, Article 23 of the West German Constitution does not rule out the possibility of annexing apart from a piece of Polish territory the Sudet area of Czechoslovakia; the Kaliningrad district of the Soviet Union and part of Austria.

The issue of postwar frontiers in Europe, as Prime Minister Mazowiecki is expected to discuss in Washington is of interest to many countries. Reliable guarantees must be produced at bilateral talks—the two-plus-four negotiation—and subsequent talks on defining the status of a single Germany within Europe. [passage omitted]

Poland's Mazowiecki Greets Gorbachev on Election

PM2303104390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Undated message from Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, to M.S. Gorbachev on his election as president of the USSR]

[Text] To His Excellency Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, President of the USSR

Esteemed Mr. President,

Please accept my cordial congratulations on the occasion of your election at the Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies as president of the USSR.

I wish you further success in solving your country's difficult problems for the good of all its citizens. You have a right to feel satisfied about everything which you have already done for perestroyka in the Soviet Union and for improving relations among states and peoples. I wish you similar personal satisfaction and well-being in the future.

[Signed] Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers

Poland's Stelmachowski, Delegation Pay Visit

Briefed on Lithuania, Germany Issues

PM2103152390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] A detailed and sincere exchange of information on the activities of the parliaments of the Soviet Union and Poland took place in the course of a conversation between Ye.M. Primakov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, and A. Stelmachowski, speaker of the Polish Senate, in Moscow 20 March.

The coincidence of many aspects of the work of the organs of state power, especially as a result of its innovative character, has once again stressed the common nature of the interests of the parliamentarians of our countries and of the problems which they have to tackle.

The Polish guest was briefed in detail on the legislative work of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and in praticular on work connected with the adoption of a law on the secession of a union republic from the USSR, and the elaboration of a new treaty of the union. In this context the complexity of resolving the situation connected with the actions of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet was stressed, with Ye.M. Primakov noting the need to overcome this problem exclusively by political means.

In the course of the conversation the Soviet understanding of the German problem was expounded and the conviction was expressed that a united Germany must not be part of NATO. It was emphasized that the logic of bloc confrontation has never been a guarantee of security.

It was noted especially that the immutability and preservation of the western borders of Poland and Czechoslovakia are of vital importance for the USSR, irrespective of what governments are in power in those countries.

The conversation was attended by Polish senators and Stanislaw Ciosek, Polish ambassador to the USSR.

A luncheon in honor of the Polish guest was given on behalf of the chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers.

On the same day A. Stelmachowski laid a wreath at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall.

Speaks With Lukyanov, Vorotnikov

LD2203090690 Warsaw PAP in English 2215 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, March 21—A delegation of the Polish Senate (Upper House of Parliament) headed by Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski, now on a visit to the USSR, met here today with Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Anatoliy Lukyanov.

The sides discussed the German question, matters concerning Poles-citizens of the Soviet Union and contacts between the societies of both countries.

Stelmachowski, referring to the matters of the Poles living in the USSR, touched upon the registration of a cultural association "Dom Polski" (Polish House) in Moscow, spoke about the Polish language teaching and establishing Polish schools as well as about creating possibilities to develop pastoral care by Catholic priests coming from Poland.

Anatoliy Lukyanov assured his interlocutors that he would pay more attention to the problems of the Polish communities in the Soviet Union.

Next, the Senate speaker met with Chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation Vitaliy Vorotnikov with whom he discussed Poles' issues in the Russian Federation as well as tightening the social-cultural links between Poland and the Russian Republic. Stelmachowski touched upon the matter of giving back to the Poles living in Moscow the church built for money of their ancestors.

Commenting on the results of his talks with Anatoliy Lukyanov and Vitaliy Vorotnikov, the Senate speaker told newsmen that he met with full understanding and that the atmosphere of the talks was very friendly.

Comparing the stands of Poland and the USSR on Germany's unification, the Senate speaker stated that the goals of both countries were the same. The differences exist in the tactical attitude toward this matter. The Soviet side thinks that Germany should be neutralized, whereas Poland is afraid that a united Germany having no links with European treaties is potentially very dangerous.

Senator Janusz Ziolkowski, who participated in the press conference, said that as to the ways of solving the German question, the sides remained at their stands.

Speaking about the Polish-Soviet relations, Stelmachowski said that the issue of compensation for Poles deported during WW 2 had not been discussed and added that this matter would be raised at intergovernmental talks.

"We talked about Katyn instead. The prolongation of this matter does not serve well the relations between our countries," Stelmachowski said.

"We also touched upon the possibility of Lech Walesa's visit to the USSR. We think that it would be desirable. However, for the time being, nothing concrete can be said on this topic," the Senate speaker stated.

The Senate delegation ended its visit to Moscow with a meeting with a group of Polish Soviet activists from the socio-cultural association "Dom Polski" here.

Meets With Primakov

LD2203043990 Moscow TASS in English 1754 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—"Our visit to the Soviet Union is of major importance, as we have spoken about problems that are most topical for our two countries," Andrzej Stelmachowski, marshal of the Polish Senate, told reporters here today.

He is heading a Polish parliamentary delegation, visiting the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Stelmachowski said that on Tuesday and Wednesday his delegation met Anatoliy Lukyanov, Supreme Soviet chairman, Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union, and Vitaliy Vorotnikov, president of the Russian Federation. The talks were held in an "atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding," he said.

One of the subjects discussed was the German issue which Stelmachowski described as "one of the most vital problems" for his country.

The Moscow talks revealed the "common goals" and "tactical differences" in the Soviet Union's and Poland's approaches to the reunification of the two German states.

The marshal emphasised that "the borders of all countries, above all Poland, must be guaranteed. We have come to complete accord that balance in Europe should not be violated" by the creation of a unified Germany.

Stelmachowski said the Soviet Union advocates a neutral Germany, while Poland "has fears because a unified Germany, even not belonging to any of the international military-political alliances, may be potentially dangerous."

He explained that "a large country with powerful economic potential cannot be neutral." He added that West Germany already has an army that is a "considerable combat force."

"We believe that the German army, just as NATO troops, should not cross the Elbe River after the establishment of a new Germany. In Poland's view, Soviet troops stationed in border areas of the German Democratic Republic would be the best guarantee of a calm implementation of the process of German reunification."

Stelmachowski said his delegation also discussed the issue of Soviet ethnic Poles.

In conclusion, he called for wider contacts between Soviets and Poles.

Polish Reform Called Western 'Experiment'

90UI0439A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Mar 90 p 4

[V. Runov report: "In the Grip of 'Therapy'"]

[Text] Warsaw—It is the second year that there has been virtually no winter in Poland. Some economists believe that had it not been for the grace of nature, events in the country would be moving along an entirely different channel. The big savings in energy resources because of the absence of frosts has afforded the authorities an opportunity to catch their breath somewhat. No one can say now, however, what reserves of strength Polish society still has. The mass media, which are now practically wholly in the hands of the authorities, are actively exploiting a slogan as old as the hills: "Things are bad now, but tomorrow will be better." As before, Solidarity is continuing to encourage a campaign of criticizing its predecessors. This lightning conductor is working as yet.

Meanwhile the break with the old administrative-management structures and the simultaneous building of a new political and economic system are under way in the country full steam ahead. At the end of last year the Polish Parliament drew a bold line beneath the past, striking out from the Constitution all that formally linked the country with socialism.

According to the government's press spokesman, a "peaceful revolution" is in full swing in the country, as a result of which Polish reality is changing fundamentally. And we have to agree.

In March, according to a forecast of the OPZZ [All-Poland Trade Unions Accord], at least 65 percent of workers' families were living below the poverty line, that is, will have a per capita income of less than the scientifically substantiated biological minimum. This opinion is borne out by figures, which testify that the retail prices of the majority of types of commodities grew 149 percent in the final quarter of last year compared with the preceding quarter, while wages increased only 107 percent. And this January the increase in prices amounted to 80 percent compared with December 1989, while wages increased only 1.3 percent.

To the perfectly real difficulties connected with the increase in prices should be added the fear which has arisen in society in connection with the threat of mass unemployment. According to government forecasts, this year the reserve army of labor could amount to 400,000. The unions, however, believe this figure to be a considerable understatement. According to OPZZ information, there are more than 100,000 unemployed even today.

The unions themselves are, to put it mildly, in a tricky position. Any sharp protest in the form of a strike could make the situation in the country even worse, while a policy of class collaboration with the authorities threatens them with a loss of confidence on the part of the working people. Our attitude toward the government, Alfred Miodovicz, chairman of the OPZZ, declared recently, is from the viewpoint of political conditions positive inasmuch as the unions do not currently see a force capable of replacing it. It could perfectly well come to be replaced by a dictatorship, which many people in Solidarity are dreaming about. But the economic program of the present leadership of the country, A. Miodovicz believes, is of no use.

Nonetheless, the government is continuing to employ so-called "shock therapy" tactics in the economy, which are being implemented in accordance with the plan of Deputy Premier L. Balcerowicz. Some of the set goals have already been achieved. The price increases have slowed in recent weeks, and it has been possible to make the zloty domestically convertible and stabilize its exchange rate in relation to the dollar (in banks and exchanges a dollar is worth approximately 9,500 zlotys).

The weekly LIUDZIE I SPRAWY, which went bankrupt at the beginning of March, having become one of the first casualties of the new economic policy, was in time to cry out in its last issue that implementation of the Balcerowicz plan had led to unprecedented consequences, which are without parallel in Polish history. According to its information, the decline in the level of industrial production compared with 1989 will be of the order of 50 percent.

To be honest, Balcerowicz's plan could with every justification be given the name of the IMF, which is calling the tune, as they say. The program of reorganization of the Polish economy was created under its pressure and with its direct participation. And the assistance was made directly dependent on the fulfillment of two main conditions, thanks to which it is planned achieving the scheduled results—a lowering of the living standard of the working people and a weakening of their social protection. To judge by everything, the West has chosen Poland for the implementation of a large-scale socioeconomic experiment, whose final outcome it is as yet hard to predict.

Polish-Soviet Trade To Be Figured in U.S. Dollars

LD2103064390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2130 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Video report by correspondent Yuriy Ulyanov in Warsaw]

[Text] Here's a different kind of item. For the first time in CEMA practice, the calculations for some goods exchanged by Poland and the Soviet Union, will be made in dollars according to current world prices. Yuriy Ulyanov reports. [video shows Ulyanov inside a building, talking to camera]

[Ulyanov] It's no secret that the level of trade between our countries is constantly falling from month to month, and the Polish leadership declares frankly that it is opposed to the country's industrial enterprises' exporting their output to our country. And that even applies to those enterprises that are traditionally linked with the Soviet Union and the Soviet market. [video shows a meeting in progress]

It is connected with the fact that two-thirds of Soviet exports consist of raw materials, the prices of which have fallen. From the Poles we receive mainly machinery, equipment, and consumer goods. Some Polish economists see a way out of the impasse by reorienting their exports toward the West. Others think it is essential to switch over as soon as possible to trade using world prices.

[S.A. Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, identified by screen caption] I think that it is the main avenue for improving our whole mechanism for mutual economic ties. It is the principal road for our onward advance. This is both our view and that of the Polish side.

[Ulyanov] Our delegation was then received by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, prime minister of Poland, where the discussion of questions on mutual trade was continued. [video shows Mazowiecki talking to Sitaryan] Later, right at the airport, a protocol on mutual deliveries of the USSR and Poland for 1990 was signed. From now on, we will sell each other 15 percent of goods at world prices. A start has been made. [video shows signing]

Laverov, Janowski View Scientific Cooperation

LD2303104390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1520 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Mar (TASS)—Academician Nikolay Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, began a visit to Poland today with the aim of seeking ways to expand and enhance the effectiveness of Soviet-Polish scientific and technical cooperation in the new conditions.

Talks have been held between Nikolay Laverov and Jan Janowski, deputy chairman of Poland's Council of Ministers and minister, head of the Office for Advancement and Applications of Science and Technology, during which a broad range of issues connected with refining bilateral scientific and technical cooperation was discussed. Laverov will also meet Polish scientists and technologists and visit scientific research centers.

Science Protocol Signed

LD2503033190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1725 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Mar (TASS)—A protocol on the finalization and elaboration of the subjects of a long-term Soviet-Polish composite program on scientific-technical progress is intended to raise effectiveness and returns in practical terms of bilateral cooperation. It was signed in Warsaw today by Academician Nikolay Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and by Jan Janowski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Poland and chairman of its Committee for Science and Technical Progress. The document stipulates that in the period to 1995 and beyond, the USSR and Poland will contribute to carrying out scientific research and experimental designwork on the agreed basic tasks in eight priority areas. In bilateral contacts, it is stipulated that direct links are to be relied on.

During the talks in Warsaw, it was deemed necessary to help place scientific-technical ties on a mutually beneficial commercial footing. An accord was also reached on the choice of 12 primary tasks in the field of science and technology which are to be implemented, on agreement with the two countries' central economic departments, in the post-1990 period in a complete science-production-sale cycle.

Nikolay Laverov had a meeting today with Leszek Balcerowicz, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of finance of the republic of Poland, and with Professor Aleksander Gieysztor, chairman of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

West Europe

Defection of Former KGB Agent to UK Publicized

Defection Called 'Simple Betrayal'

LD2203125590 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1224 GMT 22 Mar 90

[By diplomatic correspondent Tom McMullan]

[Text] Oleg Gordievskiy, the former KGB agent in London who defected to Britain five years ago, was guilty of an act of "simple betrayal", the Soviet authorities said today.

He did not have access to top secret information and his suggestion that he saved the world from nuclear disaster was "laughable", according to Georgi Karasin, political councellor at the Soviet Embassy in London.

The statement had added significance in that it was, for the Soviet Union, a break from the traditional silence maintained on espionage matters.

Mr Karasin made the statement at a press conference in the embassy.

Gordievskiy appeared in a television interview just over a month ago to explain the background to his decision to defect. At the same time, he wrote articles setting out more details on the background of his activities. He was claimed to be the most senior KGB agent to have defected to Britain in years.

Mr Karasin, however, felt there could be attempts afoot to damage the improved relations between Moscow and London.

The Soviet Union agreed with Mrs Thatcher that relations between Britain and the Soviet Union had never been better. So the question arose why Gordievskiy was allowed to publish his material when he did.

"Some people are trying to cast a shadow over the relations between Moscow and London. Gordievskiy is presented as a kind of expert who knows the answers to all kinds of complicated processes in the Soviet Union. The status of Gordievskiy does not give him access to that kind of information. All people at all times have tended to discuss traitors," said Mr Karasin.

The stories of how Gordievskiy was smuggled out of the Soviet Union raised questions about the activities of officials in the British embassies in Moscow and Finland, which did not seem to meet internationally accepted norms.

Mr Karasin refused to speculate on who might want to damage relations between Britain and the Soviet Union. It was to limit this damage that the Soviet Union decided to go public about Gordievskiy.

Britain in the past indulged in heavy expulsions of Soviet staff from London. Even now, no evidence had been given that any of these people broke British law or touched national security issues, he added.

Mr Karasin disclosed that an offer had been made to Gordievskiy to enable him to return to the Soviet Union. However, there had been no response so far. He did not know of any imposed conditions if Gordievskiy chose to return.

In talks with the Soviet Union, Britain had raised the possibility of Gordievskiy's wife and family joining him in Britain.

He said Mrs Gordievskiy had now taken her family name. In the light of the new political relations, no Soviet representatives in Britain were engaged in any sort of activity aimed at harming Britain's national security interests.

London Diplomat Cited on Case

LD2203211990 Moscow TASS in English 2042 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] London March 22 TASS—A briefing was held at the Soviet Embassy in Great Britain in connection with recent publications in the British press of traitor O. Gordiyevskiy, former KGB officer. He was recruited by the British secret services and smuggled out of the Soviet Union to Britain in 1985 because of fears that his treason had been detected.

In a series of articles in the British media, as well as in his televised appearances Gordiyevskiy tried to present himself as a "political scientist" knowledgeable of secrets of how the Soviet policy is shaped. Trying to justify his betrayal of his country he suggested he saved the world from nuclear disaster.

Embassy Counsellor G. Karasin called attention to the fact that Gordiyevskiy's "revelations" were published at a time when Soviet-British relations make progress, and when a political dialogue between the two countries, also at the summit level, is developing.

"We can fully subscribe to Mrs. Thatcher's words that relations between the Soviet Union and Great Britain have never been better in postwar time," Karasin said.

"The natural question arises to whose advantage it is to call the attention of the public to traitor Gordiyevskiy and with whose sanctions the unsavoury campaign in the worst traditions of the cold war is being launched. The conclusion suggests itself that there are people in Britain who do not like the present developments in Soviet-British relations and who try to jeopardise the constructive dialogue between Moscow and London."

"Gordiyevskiy is presented as an expert who knows answers to all questions regarding complex and contradictory processes in the Soviet Union," Karasin said. "But to what extent can one trust the assessments of a traitor who was smuggled out of the Soviet Union five years ago when the policy of glasnost and perestroika was in the offing? What is more, Gordiyevskiy's status never gave him access to important political information. The words of traitors in all times and with all peoples hardly carried any value."

"Going by assertions of the British press the traitor was smuggled out of the Soviet Union to Finland and from Finland to Britain with the assistance of staffers of the British Embassies in Moscow and Helsinki. How can this go together with generally-recognised norms of international law and the status of official British representatives in foreign countries," Karasin asks.

Karasin said that regarding Soviet attitude to Gordiyevskiy's statements it should be noted that there is concern that those who would like to undermine confidence in the USSR growing in British society, might try to profit from his "revelations". Shadows of the past should not be allowed to harm Soviet-British relations.

It was deemed necessary to make clear our assessment of Gordiyevskiy's betrayal in the hope that the British public has similar attitude to traitors and betrayals, Karasin said.

Publicity Shows UK 'Campaign'

PM2303114190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Mar 90 p 3

[Report by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent A. Kupriyanov: "Who Are You, Mr. Gordiyevskiy?"]

[Text] London—The USSR Embassy in Britain organized a briefing yesterday, at which Counselor G.V. Karasin read out a statement on the so-called "case" involving Gordiyevskiy, a secret agent of Britain's special services, who was illegally smuggled out of the Soviet Union five years ago.

The statement specifically says: "Gordiyevskiy's 'revelations' have been published at a time when Soviet-British relations are gaining dynamism and making progress, when political dialogue is developing, notably at a high level. We can fully subscribe to Mrs. Thatcher's observation that relations between the USSR and Britain are now 'better that at any other time during the postwar period.' The natural question is: To whose advantage is it to bring the traitor Gordiyevskiy to the public's notice at this specific time, and who has authorized the launching of an unsavory campaign conducted in the best traditions of the 'cold war' period?"

I personally am worried by one specific aspect of this story. Saying publicly that some state has its intelligence agents in neighboring (and not only neighboring) countries is still not done to this day. It would be naive to assume that there are no people performing special missions in the Soviet Union or, indeed, Britain. They may be doing their job sloppily or perhaps even very well (seeing that we have no information about the exposure of a "Soviet espionage network" in Britain or of a British one in Russia). So, good luck to them, as the saying goes—everyone has to earn a living... But the misfortune is that, when one is exposed, other people suffer. There were 147 Soviet citizens thrown out of Britain in 1971-1985 and in 1989 without any specific charges and, as was declared at the briefing, most of them had nothing to do with intelligence activity....

Gordiyevskiy was not exiled from the country. Sensing his approaching downfall, he fled the USSR. Gordiyevskiy's former family lives in Moscow. His wife obtained a divorce and resumed her maiden name. The following was officially stated at the press briefing: "There have been no repressions or charges against the family. All personal effects left behind in the London apartment (Gordiyevskiy worked in Britain prior to his return to the Soviet Union—A.K.) and the husband's savings, including savings in foreign currency, have been returned to them; they have retained their property, including an apartment and a car."

Gordiyevskiy is now being publicized in the West as some sort of champion of conscience, a "savior of the world from nuclear catastrophe."

The question "How did Gordiyevskiy manage to escape if he was under suspicion by the KGB?" was answered thus: "Gordiyevskiy's flight from the USSR was facilitated by the extraterritorial status of the embassy, which, in compliance with the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, is not subject to control by Soviet border and customs services..."

I assume that every person chooses his place of residence proceeding from his political beliefs and moral principles. Even if his journey to the promised land involves, say, traveling in a stifling container with a small hole for fresh air or in the company of dusty sacks sealed with sealing wax. And even if Gordiyevskiy, a professional intelligence officer in the past with certain secrets in his possession, was sincerely driven to share them with his patrons (not, of course, just for the sake of a warm "thank you"), let that rest on his conscience. Ultimately, he himself has to look people in the eye. Gordiyevskiy is not the first to flee abroad. Let us recall the fate of Orlov, Krivitskiy, Agabekov... Quite recently we read in OGONEK how Stalin's secretary Bazhanov abandoned the "socialist paradise." Each one of them had his own reasons—personal or material—and quite often a discovery of the truth or the Stalinist system of suppression and repression itself drove former USSR citizens to flee to the other side...

Could it be, however, that Oleg Gordiyevskiy—who fled neither the Stalinist system nor the suffocation of stagnation (perestroyka had already been launched in the country)—is unaware of how he is perceived by the majority of people both in our country and in Britain? What is he today? An emigre? A stateless person? A political refugee? Or a USSR citizen? After all, de jure Gordiyevskiy has not actually left the country...

On the one hand, the way he is presented in London, he is some sort of an expert knowing the answers to all questions concerning the complexity and contradictory nature of processes occurring in our country. But on the other?

I have in my hands the book "The Fate of Soviet Defectors" by British documentary writer G. Brook-Shepherd. Victor Perelman (another emigre) writes in the preface: "No matter how highly they (meaning Soviet defectors—A.K.) were praised by the newspapers of the day, Brook-Shepherd's conclusion is cruel and unequivocal: In the West's eyes they were all nothing but Soviet agents prepared to sell themselves for a decent payment from Western intelligence services..." Someone might object: But that was said about defectors in the eighties; the situation is different now. The author of the preface, just like the author of the book, dispels all illusions as regards the present, too.

Former Lieutenant Colonel Gordiyevskiy might consider everything I say about the status of defecting spies as yet another serving of "Red propaganda." But has he read those bitter words in the preface, so chilling in their sincere simplicity: "Sell themselves for a decent payment..."

Omelichev-Led Military Delegation Visits UK

LD2003184790 Moscow TASS in English 2246 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] London March 20 TASS—Deputy Chief of the Soviet Armed Forces General Staff Colonel-General B.A. Omelichev, who is leading a Soviet military delegation to London, met here today the first deputy chief of the British defence headquarters General R. Vincent and other British Defence Ministry officials.

During the conversation the sides discussed bilateral contacts along the military line between the Soviet Union and Great Britain and some aspects of building the armed forces in the two countries, the military-political situation in the world and in Europe, including the German question.

The Soviet military leader visited the land force Staff College in Camberley. He delivered a lecture about the Soviet Armed Forces after the reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces in Europe and responded to questions from cadets.

In the afternoon Omelichev met British Defence Secretary Thomas King.

Bovin Article Views German NATO Membership

AU2503165990 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 23 Mar 90 p 53

[Article by Aleksandr Bovin, Soviet television foreign policy commentator: "Germany in NATO: Why Not?"]

[Text] Moscow—The end of postwar Europe has not been able to get around concretely answering the question about German unification. The first steps to solve it have already been taken and there are many different questions.

The most burning of them is probably the question about the military-political status of a united Germany. Will a united Germany be a NATO member or will it remain outside the blocs, that is to say, will it become a neutral state? Of course, our government is more inclined toward the last variant, the neutralization of Germany. I also understand very well the logic and psychology of this attitude. However, rather big doubts remain.

Supposing Germany becomes neutral: Would this strengthen the stability in Europe? I am afraid not. Germany is not Austria or Switzerland, and it is not hard to imagine that despite all statements to the contrary, an endless struggle for German sympathies will start in Germany itself and in its neighboring countries. This tug-of-war between East and West, between us and, let us say, the Americans, would be a constant source of allegations and distrust, a constant source of the destabilization of the situation in Europe. However, we want to avoid precisely this.

Now the other variant: Suppose the united Germany becomes a NATO member. This would, of course, underline our major political defeat, but the transformation of the GDR is certainly a unique process. The heart of the matter is that we are forced—here I am using the old political language, the terminology of the old political thinking—to withdraw our troops from Eastern Europe and to give each country and each nation the opportunity to choose their road for themselves. However, in the final analysis, this is a victory of common sense, a victory of really reasonable policy, a victory of democracy. But, in order to come to this conclusion, many familiar stereotypes that were established in our minds have to be overcome.

One look at the map is enough: The GDR's integration in the present NATO territory will hardly affect our security in any way, because in the nuclear age comparisons with the years 1914, 1939, or 1941 are pointless. Therefore, the new status of Germany should not be considered from the point of view of a violation or nonviolation of the military-strategic balance between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

This balance is violated now anyway, for the Warsaw Pact has ceased to be an organization of fraternal states, of states of a joint intellectual-political platform.

The most important point is that a unified Germany will not become a danger to peace. This would cause concern in the West and in the East of Europe, and this is not the objective of our political efforts. But can it be asserted that Germany's participation in NATO or Germany's nonparticipation in NATO guarantees the new German state's love for peace? In my opinion, every clear answer to these questions would be too simple. Therefore one should not concentrate one's attention on external formal characteristics, but on the conditions that are developed for stability in each case.

The West understands that it is hard for Moscow to agree to the NATO variant. Therefore, it is currently looking for a compromise. This leads to a special military status for the territory of the present GDR: A united Germany could be a NATO member, but the NATO troops, including the Bundeswehr, must not be deployed east of the present border between the FRG and the GDR.

Another variant would be even more radical: The Soviet Union could keep part of its troops which are currently stationed on GDR territory there, even after the establishment of a united Germany, which belongs to NATO. Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier astutely commented on this: Under the conditions under which we are living—a symbiosis of the brave soldier Schwejk, Franz Kavka, and Josef Stalin—nothing is absurd.

In any case, the discussion will be difficult and tedious. In my opinion, it is important that none of the conceivable variants are discarded from the outset, but that the advantages and disadvantages of each are considered again and again. Here all advantages and disadvantages are not to be seen from the point of view of yesterday's geometry, but from the point of view of the Europe of tomorrow. And the Europe of tomorrow—our opportunities in it, the persuasive power of our arguments, the feasibility of the idea of the common European home—depends above all on the course of our perestroyka. In this respect not the German question, but the Soviet question is most important for Europe.

Commentator Solton on United Germany, NATO

LD2503203990 Moscow International Service in German 1631 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Yuriy Solton commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] The fact that after the GDR elections the winners were parties that support a quick unification of both German states demonstrates that the issue of the military-political status of a united Germany has become even more explosive. Where does the German train of unification, which has an increasingly faster speed, make a halt? Our commentator Yuriy Solton tries to answer that question:

That question cannot be answered clearly today. Almost all opinions agree that the danger of a new war must not emerge from the territory of a united Germany, writes our commentator. Declamatory affirmations are not enough. Guarantees are required. But which ones? In Bonn, London, Washington, and in some other capitals it is asserted that such guarantees can be given by a united Germany's entry into NATO. I would like to emphasize here that such tendencies have developed recently also in East European countries, writes Yuriy Solton. I think that such considerations are a bit too primitive. Thinking in such a way means that a very significant factor, surely, is quite frequently forgotten—that NATO remains, as before, a military organization with a strategy of nuclear deterrence and with a course toward modernizing conventional and tactical weapons.

I am concerned whether the bloc will change into a purely political alliance in the near future, says Solton. As yet, most of the balance in Europe has been preserved thanks to the Warsaw Pact. The inclusion of a united Germany into NATO, to put it differently—the GDR's association [anschluss] with that bloc—would violate that balance.

The Warsaw Pact, which apparently already today loses its military functions, would no longer be able to perform the role of a balance. In Europe the situation would develop in such a way that the Soviet Union would be the only counterweight to NATO. If such a situation arises, then there will necessarily be an erosion of Europe's positive developments on all sides involved; there will be mutual distrust and suspicion. Will Poland, the CSSR, Austria, and other European countries feel secure then? I doubt it. Reassurance seems to me to be a trap for fools. I mean, among other things, the talk that military NATO contingents are reportedly not to be deployed on GDR territory and that Soviet troops are said to remain there yet for a certain while. Where is the solution?

The Soviet leadership clearly rejected a united Germany's entry into NATO. That is a general fact. Definitely I believe, the mechanism two-plus-four that is being used, that is the conference with two German states and the four victorious powers—the USSR, the United States, the United Kingdom and France—must already be working actively.

All those questions were discussed last Saturday [no date given] at the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers meeting in Prague. Various thoughts and proposals were presented there. On some questions, those participating agreed wholly, while there were different opinions on others. I would like to underscore that all the Prague meeting participants advocated the syncronization of the two most important processes—the creation of European security and the rapprochement between the two German states, said Yuriy Solton.

Supreme Soviet Session

Supreme Soviet Joint Session Opens 26 Mar

LD2603081690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0650 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, 26 March—A TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

After debates last week in separate chambers, the Soviet parliament today assembled for a joint sitting. Discussion has begun on the second reading of a bill on the bases for local self-management and local economy in the USSR.

It was passed at its first reading last November and then issued for discussion by the whole people. Chairman of the parliament Anatoliy Lukyanov has remarked that the document "gives the green light for what is effectively a new juridical basis for the work of local authorities in the country."

Moscow TV Carries Soviet of the Union Session

LD2303215990

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1900 GMT on 23 March begins carrying a recorded relay of the Soviet of the Union session held in the Kremlin in Moscow on 23 March. The session begins with Chairman Yevgeniy Primakov announcing that there is a quorum and that the subject of debate will be the bill on the general principles of management of the economy and the social sphere in the union and autonomous republics. He calls on Deputy Blokhin to report on behalf of the Committee for Economic Reform, of which he is deputy chairman. Blokhin then explains some of the technical changes made by the committee.

At 1914 GMT Chairman Primakov asks if there are any objections to calling Deputy Mukhametzyanov, of the corresponding commission in the Soviet of Nationalities, to speak. No objections are raised. Mukhametzyanov outlines his commission's comments on the bill, including suggestions about changing its name, and about the relevance of the proposed new union treaty for relations between republics and the center.

At 1925 GMT there are brief interventions from Deputy Mokanu, Deputy Yemelyanov, unidentified deputy.

At 1935 GMT Deputy (Abdullayeva) suggests that the bill should be adopted at its first reading, but its name should be changed.

At 1939 GMT Deputy (Sizonov) and then Deputy Yablokov speak in favor of changing the name to refer to socioeconomic relations. Yablokov also advises further provision against arbitrary taxation by local soviets.

At 1950 GMT Deputy Miloserdnyy comments on some financial aspects of the law, followed by Deputy Sobchak, of the Committee on Legislation, who comments on price-fixing provisions and warns against the misuse of these.

At 1959 GMT there is an intervention from an unidentified deputy who wants health and education specified as forming part of the law.

At 2004 GMT Deputy Chairman of Council of Ministers Abalkin delivers the government's view of the bill. It must reconcile the rights of republics to independent action with the sovereignty and integrity of the USSR and the defense of its interests, he says. This needs to be spelled out, and areas such as science and technology and ecology need special attention, he adds. Care must also be taken not to prejudice the efforts under way to create a planned union-wide market.

At 2012 GMT the chairman asks if there are any other speakers. There are none. He proposes a vote, asking if further discussion of the matter of changing the name of the bill is needed. The vote is taken and the bill is passed by 182 to 14, with 11 abstentions.

At 2014 GMT Primakov declares the sitting over.

Moscow TV Carries Soviet of Nationalities

LD2303221690

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2015 GMT on 23 March begins carrying a recorded relay of the Soviet of Nationalities session held in the Kremlin in Moscow on 23 March. The session is chaired by Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities. He invites Deputy Tarazevich, chairman of the Commission for Nationalities Policy, to speak on the bill relating to the procedure for republics wishing to secede from the union.

He remarks on the topicality of the subject matter, gives details of the provision for referendums to be conducted in such cases, and clarifies the proposed rights of autonomous republics as well as union republics. He warns against instantly wrecking all the forms of cooperation which have been built up over decades. In the run-up to secession, he says, the seceding republic must make a full examination of all those aspects affecting the union as a whole and act always within international law, and agreement with the union authorities must be ratified in a formal document. He adds that some comments and suggested amendments have reached his commission only in the last day or two and therefore have not been properly considered.

Replying to a written question, Tarazevich says union authorities will not have the right of veto, provided all procedures have been properly complied with.

At 2036 GMT Deputy Lavrov says that the Nationalities Commission has received contributions from a wide range of bodies, and enumerates some of the points raised.

At 2042 GMT Deputy Boyars expounds on the problem concerning the definition of a "compact" people as menioned in the bill. He goes on to propose that a "goodwill mission" be sent to Lithuania to calm the situation

At 2048 GMT an unidentified deputy calls for guarantees of access to media for all parties during the referendum period. Deputy Sebentsov says the debate has focussed too much on secession; it should envision cases of accession, too. Deputy (Chekhoy) raises the question of "refugees."

At 2056 GMT Deputy Medvedev returns to the question of "compact" groups and suggests that it could lead to some absurd consequences.

At 2101 GMT Deputy (Plynikov) makes a recommendation concerning the prosecution of those who damage sites and monuments in national areas.

At 2104 GMT Deputy Pogosyan comments on the importance of establishing the borders of seceding republics, and possible inconsistencies in referendum provisions.

At 2108 GMT Nishanov sums up the debate and proposes that a working group from the two chambers be set up.

Internal Troops Bill Viewed

LD2303223190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2110 GMT on 23 March continues its recorded relay of the Soviet of Nationalities session in the Kremlin on 23 March. Nishanov announces that the chamber will move on to the bill on the rights and duties of Ministry of Internal Affairs troops in maintaining law and order. Deputy Sebentsov, of the Supreme Soviet Committee for Legislation, reports on the committee's examination of the bill, listing points of detail where a change of wording is recommended. Sebentsov moves on to mention points in the law on the presidency which impinge on the bill, given that that law has been passed since the present bill was first drafted.

At 2122 GMT USSR Minister of Justice Yakovlev speaks, tracing some of the history of the law relating to the functions of the internal troops. He goes on to mention some specifics of the present bill, including the right of troops to enter private property, and regulations on the use of firearms. He then outlines some details of the public security forces which exist in some countries of Western Europe and the United States. He says the bill has been examined in the light of international agreements, and it complies.

At 2127 GMT Nishanov mentions a number of military and Interior Ministry officials who are present in the chamber to hear the debate.

At 2128 GMT Deputy (Ignatovich) suggests the force should be renamed "public security forces", since "troops" are forces which fight against somebody—does one fight against one's own people? He is followed by Deputy Batorov who talks about the need for proper training.

At 2132 GMT Nishanov says debate is over and asks for a show of hands in favor of postponing the vote until the next sitting. It is agreed unanimously.

At 2133 GMT Nishanov returns to an earlier suggestion for sending a "goodwill mission" to Lithuania, a fact-finding group. A Lithuanian deputy speaks in favor of this. An unnamed deputy objects that as Gorbachev has said there will be "no talks" on what right have deputies got to take such action. Nishanov asks for the views of the chamber. Most agree with the last deputy; only 10 oppose him, they favor sending a mission. Nishanov says the chamber has decided that such a mission would be "inappropriate", but he will pursue the question in consultation with other Supreme Soviet officials.

At 2138 GMT Nishanov closes the session with a reminder of the bill for debate at Monday's sitting, and the recorded relay ends.

Abalkin Supreme Soviet Speech 23 March

LD2403133990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2004 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Speech by Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, at 23 March session of the Soviet of the Union in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] The government's remarks on this bill were submitted to the Supreme Soviet on 17 February this year. This is a quite detailed document extending to six pages, beginning with an outline of our attitude in general and including some quite detailed criticisms. These include, for instance—if people's deputies had known more about it no questions would have arisen about Article 4, Point 4, for example which refers to use of means of payment, shares and securities. We also proposed removing this point, since it is couched in very unprofessional terms, for the fact is that shares have never counted anywhere in the world as a means of payment. Similarly, we have proposed refining a number of other clauses.

What is the basic line of the criticisms made by the government? Our starting point was that where one is dealing with relations between two parties, then there are two questions which need to be regulated. There is the question of the sovereignty and right to independent action of union and autonomous republics. There is also the no less important, fundamental, and difficult question of the sovereignty of the USSR and of its integrity and the protection of its rights and powers.

The existence of a union state with a federative structure presupposes that the country will operate a unified financial policy, a unified credit policy, a unified scientific-technical policy, a unified policy for the social protection of the population, for the defence of the bordrs, and for the implementation of customs regulations and controls. No state can exist if it does not operate these functions. Lack of consistency, of precision—the vagueness of many clauses and absence of definition in this area—gave rise to some objections and in those places we have proposed that matters be more specifically defined.

There is a whole range of criticisms concerning the full extent of the powers of the union as defined in article one. It must be said that here we are fully in agreement with the fundamental approaches which were worked out by the committees and commissions which put it forward. So, what is in question here? One can proceed really by two paths. One can start by listing the rights of the union republics and autonomous republics—20, 30, 40, or 50—and then allocate all the rest to the union. This principle has been criticized in the past, too. For, the essence of Article 1 is that it is a closed list specifying the powers of the union. Just recall how often the imprecise nature of the constitutional norms has been spoken of, that the union's competence includes this, this, and this and, also, major or very important and other national economic problems. That is too vague.

But this list is a closed one. Fifteen questions have been allocated to the union. Fifteen. (?Twelve and twelve). This is an element and really the start, perhaps, of the union treaty, the federal treaty which defines this is what—if the Soviet of Nationalities and the Soviet of the Union define it—this is what is allocated to the union and all the rest comes within the right of the union republic and the autonomous republic to decide independently.

Therefore, it is, of course, necessary to work out very carefully the first article and to determine what it does. Specifically, we envisaged and requested that there should be taken into consideration a more precise position for conducting a single tax policy in the country. There should be a single system and then this would remove the mass of all sorts of questions which have been correctly brought up today. There should be specified a single scientific-technical policy, how it is to be implemented, using what funds, just as in the sphere, of course, of ecology, culture and so on.

The third thing that I would like to say is connected with the interpretation of the all-union market. We really also adhere to the principle that this, if we agree on this question, will make it possible to really construct and to harmonize among ourselves, the whole system of laws and legislative acts which have been spoken about here by people's deputy Yemelyanov and other speakers.

If we have agreed that as the point of departure for the construction of all economic relations and, in this case, just the economic side, if we take as the basis the socialist enterprise as the goods producer, if we consider this only in this way that the subject of the market is not the republic—the union republic or autonomoous republic nor any administrative formation—the subject of the market is the goods producer. All the rest should only facilitate it in its activity, because it must be built from this system and then, once the powers and rights of this basic link of the national economy have been defined, we should ensure that there is no contradiction to this in all the other laws, starting from the law on mutual relations between the union and the autonomous and union republics and the tax system, and it must be ensured that this does not contradict the general principle.

Unfortunately, this also arouses critical remarks. If you have read carefully the decision on the introduction, it introduces a number of illegal restrictions on the independence of the activity of the goods producer as the basic link of the national economy. For example, Point 3 of the decision on introduction points out that for a certain transitional period the union and autonomous republics have the right to introduce restrictions on sending outside the confines of the republic products produced on their territory above the state order. What is this? Is this a union? We are moving toward an all-union market. We are strengthening integrity and unity. That is, we should define our principles. If there is a basic link of the national economy, if we are setting up and constructing a planned market economy, then we must check whether these initial principles are contradicted by any norms and laws that we adopt.

This also applies to Point 4 by the way, for it contains similar restrictions. We consider that they should be removed.

Finally, we also expressed the opinion that taking into account the criticisms which have been expressed by the government the draft could be passed in its first reading because we are very interested in the law's being adopted as soon as possible because vast organizational work lies ahead in order to put into operation by 1 January, 1991. This question, the date for its introduction, has been decided in advance. From that moment not only it but also the whole of the vast package of legislative acts including the union and autonomous republics, local self-rule and the tax system should be adopted.

But we also have more specific and detailed criticisms.

Abalkin, Deputies Debate Federation Bill

LD2303115290 Moscow TASS in English 1136 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—Soviet lawmakers, grappling with a legislative log-jam, approved the first reading of another crucial bill, envisaging greater economic independence for constituent republics.

At the morning session today, the Council of the Union, one of the chambers of the Soviet Parliament, accepted "draft guidelines for economic relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Union and Autonomous Republics". The bill was previously endorsed by the Council of Nationalities, and other chamber.

The proposed law gives more powers to constituent republics in finance, taxation, investment policy and resource management.

Under it, the republics will be able to conduct trade with other countries, draw up their own plans and budget, and even abrogate the decisions of central authorities if they violate republican interests.

The bill specifies the mutual responsibility of the centre and the republics.

Speaking on behalf of the Council of Nationalities, Deputy Aklim Mukhamedzyanov said that the bill will help end central diktat.

Most of the deputies agreed. Aleksandr Mokanu of Moldavia said the draft should set the stage for a union market, or otherwise, "the transition of all powers from the centre to the republics will lead to their isolation, and, finally, to the splitting of the federation."

The draft drew considerable fire from Deputy Anatoliy Sobchak, who spoke on behalf of the parliament's Legislative Committee. Sobchak said the rights of enterprises should be expanded. The proposed law will only help replace central red tape with republican bungling and hamper the development of market relations in the country, he warned, saying the bill should be further improved.

He was backed by reform-minded Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Leonid Abalkin, who said the draft was good in general, but contained several unjustified limitations on enterprises' activities.

Abalkin called on the deputies to speed up work on the bill, saying that the government will have to do a lot of work if it is to be enacted on January, 1991.

In the afternoon, the Council of Nationalities will meet.

Supreme Soviet Rejects Delegation to Lithuania

LD2303180490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1710 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Report by TASS parliamentary correspondent from the Kremlin]

[Excepts] Moscow 23 Mar—The separate sittings of the two houses of the USSR Supreme Soviet—the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities—were continued today. [passage omitted]

The Soviet of Nationalities examined a bill dealing with the procedure for resolving matters connected with the secession of a union republic from the USSR. [passage omitted]

At the end of the evening session, the house debated a deputy's proposal to send a Supreme Soviet delegation to Lithuania to study the situation. This was rejected in a vote.

On Monday there will be a plenary sitting of the Soviet parliament's chambers to discuss the bill on local self-government.

Pros, Cons of Economic Law Debated

LD2303131890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] A direct line links the radio studio with our special correspondents. Let's start with the session [of the USSR Supreme Soviet]. Here's Lyudmila Semina.

[Semina] In the Kremlin today there are once again separate sittings of the chambers. From 1500, the Soviet of Nationalities will consider the draft law on the procedure for solving questions connected with the secession of a union republic from the USSR. The Soviet of the Union has been working on the draft law on the general principles for managing the economy and the social sphere in union and autonomous republics at the first reading. The draft was discussed by the Soviet of Nationalities in February, before the congress. The law delimits the powers of the union and the republics, defines their financial and economic interrelations, establishes legal foundations for the formation and regulation of an all-union market, provides for legislative and contractural forms of regulating of trade unions in autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and okrugs, local soviets of people's deputies and enterprises. The law is based on the principles of federalism, economic independence, and the mutual responsibility of the union and the republics.

Speeches on the draft law were made by Deputy Blokhin from the Committee for Economic Reform, and Deputy Mukhamedzyanov from the Soviet of Nationalities Commission for the Social and Economic Development of Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Oblasts, and Okrugs.

The advantages and disadvantages of the draft law, if one sums up the speeches made during the discussion, are as follows. The advantages: The law is a big step forward toward the economic independence of enterprises, local soviets, and republics. The law is clearly geared toward renewing the economic system and decentralizing the running of the economy. The law will enable the diktat of the center to be removed under conditions of an all-union market. The law will enable the predatory policies of ministries and departments to be removed. Very vivid examples were provided in the speeches made by deputies Ivanov from Yakutia and Abdullayeva from

Uzbekistan. The republics that supply some of the most valuable resources and products do not have the funds for the social development of their regions. From now on, according to the new law, they will be the true masters in their own homes. These are the advantages of the law.

As for the disadvantages, they were very clearly described by deputies Yemelyanov, Yablokov, Sobchak, and Koryugin. The law is already obsolete. It contains the former hierarchical ladder from the center to the localities. The gradual transfer of powers will lead to a growth of the bureaucratic machine in the localities and in the republics. There has already been such an experience in our history—with the Soviets of the National Economy. These deputies proposed, in the conception of the law, to proceed from the different principle of structural construction from below, and the delegation of the center's powers by the republics.

The draft law was approved at the first reading. Work on it is continuing. It will be interesting to see whether the new approach will prevail.

Deputy Sebentsov Views Secession Bill Issues

LD2503143390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] This past week the houses of the USSR Supreme Soviet have been discussing a package of bills dealing with the reform of our federation. Our correspondent Andrey Nikiforov has been speaking about one of these to Andrey Yevgenyevich Sebentsov, a people's deputy and a member of the committee on legislation:

[Begin recording] [Nikiforov] Andrey Yevgenyevich, I know that your committee has been busy with drawing up a bill on the procedure for resolving issues connected with the withdrawal of a union republic from the composition of the country. What can you say about this document at the present stage?

[Sebentsov] Generally speaking, the issue of the procedure for exercising the right to secession provided for under Article 72 of the Constitution is long overdue. Problems concerned with this issue surfaced back at the first congress, and the fact that this bill has appeared now really has nothing to do with the acute political developments in the Baltic today. It is a separate phenomenon. But the importance of the law is that it would create the prerequisites for a normal and legal way out of the situation. The decision put forward now by Lithuania smacks of what I might even call some disrespect to the other republics. Perhaps a frivolous regard for its own international position. The procedure contained within this bill is well intended, and I believe that on sober reflection it will be accepted both by all the deputies who are members of the Supreme Soviet and by the republics.

The gist of the bill is that any decision should be taken by means of referendum. Then, there would be an interim period, during which there would be an adjustment of all relations both between the republics that remain in the union and those that leave, and between enterprises. And the international position of the seceding republic would be defined.

[Nikiforov] Andrey Yevgenyevich, why is it that the figure of five years has been mooted for all stages of this process to be completed?

[Sebentsov] Well, generally speaking, that is the timescale we usually use to calculate our plans. Clearly, this period could be used to carry out all the changes necessary in the plans, the calculations and alignments of the republics, so as to ensure that everything passes off as painlessly as possible. I should think this would be enough time. Some deputies suggested extending this period to 10 years or even indefinitely; others, quite the reverse, wanted just one year. I do not believe one year is enough, for in my opinion just the uninterrupted examination of all the international obligations by which the Soviet Union is bound would take at least two years. And so, the wording "no more than five years" sets a maximum. It introduces a certain amount of discipline and provides a guideline, but at the same time it is not a restriction; if everything can be done quicker from the bottom up, then that's fine!

The other side of the coin that I have mentioned is that, aside from drawing up a bill on secession at the moment, it would be no bad idea to try at the same time to formulate a bill on the procedure for accession, so as to avoid making the process irreversible. I believe that would be the most sensible thing to do just now; it would allow the problem to be viewed from the other side, and might even improve the bill. [end recording]

Political & Social

Presidential Council Members Named, Tasks Outlined

LD2603092290 Moscow TASS in English 0903 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 26 TASS—Two new members of the USSR Presidential Council have been appointed by decrees issued by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. The decrees were made public here today.

The newly appointed members are Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Grigoriy Revenko, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The functions of the USSR Presidential Council will be to work out measures to promote the realisation of the main trends of the Soviet Union's home and foreign policy and to ensure the country's security.

The Presidential Council will also discuss matters aimed at implementing the economic programme endorsed by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and take measures to facilitate its implementation.

The following persons were appointed to the Presidential Council over the past two days: Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, First Deputy Prime Minister Yuriy Maslyukov, KGB Chairman Vladimir Kryuchkov, Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov, Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Aleksandr Yakovlev, USSR Interior Minister Vadim Bakatin, Valeriy Boldin, head of the General Affairs Department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, Academician Osipyan, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, a specialist in the field and theoretical and applied physics, Academician Stanislav Shatalin, acting academic secretary of the Economics Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, People's Deputies of the USSR Albert Kauls and Veniamin Yarin, and writers Valentin Rasputin and Chingiz Aitmatov.

Shevardnadze To Be Vice-President in 'Few Days'

LD2403091990 Kuwait KUNA in English 0746 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Kuwait, March 24 (KUNA)—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who was elected president of the Soviet Union last week, will appoint Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze as his vice president within the coming few days, daily AL-ANBA said Saturday.

Quoting informed sources, the newspaper said Shevardnadze will be replaced by prominent parliamentarian Yevgeniy Primakov.

Primakov, who was PRAVDA's correspondent in Egypt during the sixties, is known for his support for restoring relations with Israel.

In view of the election of Gorbachev as president with executive powers it is yet to be seen if the vice-presidency if created, is going to be a promotion for Shevardnadze, or otherwise.

Army Prosecutor Disputes Shevardnadze Claims

PM2403200790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Mar 90 First Edition p 2

[Letter to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Chief Editor V.V. Chikin from Lieutenant General of Justice A.F. Katusev requesting publication of letter to E.A. Shevardnadze in response to latter's critical remarks about the leadership of the Main Military Prosecutor's Office made in interview for OGONEK No. 11, followed by text of Katusev's letter to Shevardnadz: "I Request Publication"]

[Text] To Comrade V.V. Chikin, chief editor of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA

Esteemed Valentin Vasilyevich!

In his interview to OGONEK (No. 11, 1990) Comrade E.A. Shevardnadze made a number of statements which are at variance with the facts and call into question my integrity as a staffer of the prosecutor's office and my honor as a communist and citizen.

In my opinion, the broad publicity given to unfounded accusations demands an equal measure of publicity to be granted to their rebuttal. In view of the fact that the point at issue is the remarks made by a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, I believe that it would be more fitting for my letter on this subject to be published in an organ of the CPSU Central Committee.

I request publication in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA the attached copy of a letter which I have sent to Comrade E.A. Shevardnadze.

I have received reports from local level according to which the statement by Comrade E.A. Shevardnadze on the lack of objectivity on the part of the leadership of the Main Military Prosecutor's Office is causing unhealthy reactions in respect of the law-enforcement work of military prosecutor's offices. In addition, the idea put forward in the interview about a military viceregency, an idea which is totally unsuitable in our conditions, requires a public rejoinder, even if only in the form which I have chosen in the attached letter.

Respectfully,
Lieutenant General of Justice, A.F. Katusev.

To Comrade E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo
Esteemed Eduard Amvrosiyevich!

It was the custom in our country for many years on end that people occupying dominant positions in the socioeconomic and state structures have permitted themselves for no good reason to debase the honor and dignity of those below them on the hierarchical ladder. This was done on the same lines as a superior talking down to a subordinate using the familiar form of address, while the latter is obliged to use the polite form. I thought that the perestroyka processes in our society over the past five years have been gradually squeezing out this kind of relationship; however, your interview in OGONEK (No. 11, 1990) under the headline "Persuasion Through Truth," proves that, unfortunately, little has changed, at least as far as you are concerned.

Since you have applied to me expressions such as "scandalously unobjective," "dishonest," and "again everyone, including the military prosecutor, denies...." (this was on the subject of sappers' shovels and the "Cheremukha" gas), and concluded, moreover, that as a result of the departmental interests of the Ministry of Defense I, allegedly, was one of the people who prevented the members of the country's top political leadership from establishing the truth, I must remind you of something that you appear to have forgotten. First, among the officials who were in Tbilisi at the same time as you in connection with the tragic events of 9 April 1989, there was no military prosecutor at all. At that time I was deputy USSR prosecutor general for investigation, and in this capacity I arrived at the scene of the events in order to coordinate the work of the Georgian Prosecutor's Office investigative organs, and had no departmental ties with the Soviet Army. And second—and in my opinion this is most important!—it was I who, in your presence and before anyone else had done so, expressed the supposition that both infantry shovels and chemical agents may have been used by the servicemen, following which I ordered investigative action without delay to establish the facts. All this was heard by the participants in the conferences which you mention, and you have placed yourself in an embarrassing situation in front of these people by your incorrect depiction of my stance.

Having leveled serious accusations against me, which at the same time are very far from the truth, including the accusation that I submitted unobjective information to the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies, you, Eduard Amvrosiyevich, have failed to substantiate this with any sort of hard facts, because such facts do not exist.

Moreover, I cannot pass over in silence the point which you made in your interview which not only questions my honor but is also hardly appropriate for a statesman of your stature. In stating that "the criminal investigation of this crime should not have been entrusted to the military prosecutor's office," you seem to have completely overlooked that this was not done as a result of someone's whim but in compliance with the law. In accordance with the law, the actions of the law-enforcement forces, and of the organizers of resistance to them, are subject to investigation by the military prosecutor's office as one case. On this occasion, just as in a number of other similar cases, the leadership of the USSR Prosecutor's Office, acting within its competence, decided to split the case—entrusting the investigation of the civilians' actions to the republic prosecutor's office, and of the actions of the servicemen to the Main Military Prosecutor's Office. It appears that certain laws are not to your liking. As a member of the government you can try to get the USSR Council of Ministers to submit the question of their amendment to the legislature. However, for as long as they are in force they have to be respected and observed, otherwise we will never succeed in building a truly democratic state but will, on the contrary, subside into legal nihilism.

And one more point—reflecting on the complex situation which preceded the night tragedy in the square in front of Government House and on the role of the military command, you said: "In our times it is not enough for military men of this rank to be just soldiers, they must be politicians as well." With reference to your remark about Comrade I.N. Rodionov's disagreement with the decision of the republic government, and your regret that he did not assume the functions of the civilian and political authorities, I am forced to note that this recommendation contravenes the law. I find that if the military begin to doubt whether they should strictly abide by the orders of the organs of state leadership, this will lead to unpredictable consequences. It is the duty of all the military, irrespective of the number and size of the stars they sport on their shoulder boards, sacredly to fulfill their oath, otherwise the army stops being the army.

I hope I have put my arguments convincingly enough.

Respectfully,
Lieutenant General of Justice A.F. Katusev

PRAVDA Warns Against 'Extremism'

PM2503233790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Mar 90 First Edition pp 1-2

[Unattributed article: "Democracy and Antidemocracy. Who Stands To Gain From Whipping Up Rally Passions?"]

[Text] The current "hot" winter—one of the most alarming and tense periods in our modern history—has ended. Between the beginning of the year and 23 February more than 1,500 rallies were held in the country in which 6.4 million people took part. The preelection events of 24-25 February added a further 500 rallies and over 1 million participants. During the three holidays in March 73 mass events were held, attended by 124,600 people. For the sake of comparison, in the course of the entire past year of 1989, 5,300 rallies were held, attended by 12.6 million people.

A great deal has already been said on the pages of PRAVDA and other publications about rallies and the elemental forces generated by them. The new, positive aspects of freedom and liberation from the stereotypes of fear and bondage, which have allowed people to stand up straight in the favorable conditions of perestroyka and glasnost, have also been mentioned. Thousands upon thousands of people are coming out onto the streets in order to once again say "yes" to the processes of the acceleration of perestroyka and to development of democracy. It is impossible to ignore this healthy desire to directly influence the changes which are under way in the country, a desire which comes from the grass roots, from the depths of society. Many of these positive trends were in evidence also during the February rallies in Moscow and other parts of the country. However, another aspect cannot be ignored either—and PRAVDA and other mass media have already dwelt on this, too. Rallies and demonstrations are increasingly becoming a form of legalization of extremism, of "stirring up" an already complex situation in society.

Extreme, "knee-jerk" assessments of any sociopolitical phenomena are always one-sided. As is the anathematization of all mass events by means of the tried and tested method "Assembly Prohibited!" And as is the euphoric glorification of the efficacy of rallies as all but the only form of expression of the will of the people in the rule-of-law state that is being built.

However, the late February events have added another alarming tinge to this meager spectrum of assessments. In a whole series of press organs accusations have appeared—leveled against the authorities and certain mass media—accusing them of having launched a campaign of "intimidation" against people, of whipping up fear of rallies (read "of the forces of democracy"). The angry accusations have been directed at the USSR Supreme Soviet, the government, the CPSU Central

Committee, and even the leadership of the creative unions who had issued warnings on the eve of the rally scheduled for 25 February. According to a statement by USSR People's Deputy Yu. Afanasyev, which appeared in a publication with a very high circulation, "The Supreme Soviet has been drawn into a game in which the role of a hostile and extremist force has been assigned to the people." PRAVDA came under attack, too. According to the words of a journalist writing in another popular weekly, "It had 'prepared' for the rallies for almost a month" by creating "the vision of a hidden enemy, ready to pounce."

So what did really happen on the eve of 25 February? Who sought to "intimidate" the population and why? Where did the danger emanate from? Many people are waiting for an answer to these questions, both those who stayed at home that day, and those who took part in the rallies.

But let's take a look at PRAVDA. Clearly, the author of the cited passage about the "month-long intimidation" was referring to a series of articles in the newspaper which opened with the editorial under the headline "Let Us Defend Perestroyka!" and appeared on 17 February, that is one week (and certainly not one month) before the rally scheduled for the 25th. As for the official appeals, they were published even later.

What gave members of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the leadership of the country cause to view with alarm the possibility of the mass rallies and marches being exploited with the aim of provoking disturbances, and to call on the citizens of the country to show restraint, reason, and responsibility?

Certain alarming symptoms which made it possible to draw such conclusions were already dwelt upon in the aforementioned PRAVDA article. The carefully coordinated event which was planned for 25 February was viewed by its organizers as a powerful means of exerting political pressure on soviet, state, and party organs. This was mentioned both in the resolutions of the rally which was held in Moscow 4 February, and in numerous leaflets and appeals disseminated in the capital and in other cities in the country. It is characteristic that in a number of places demands were put forward for the release of criminals, including speculators, the organizer of an explosion in Gorkiy City, and so forth. Extremists from among Zelenograd informal associations, the "Russian People's Front," and the "Democratic Union" declared that, cost what it may, they would hold their own rally in the square named for the 50th anniversary of October under the slogans: "You Cannot Shoot a Million People. We Will Walk Under the Tanks Come What May!" and "We Must Come Forward Regardless of the Cost and Demand the Resignation of the Politburo."

And here is an excerpt from a leaflet distributed in the Siberian city of Berdsk: "We call on you to unite in a single revolutionary people's front. Unite in groups of resistance against the regime at your place of residence, work, or study. Destroy Lenin's portraits and statues, red flags, and other attributes of the deformed dictatorship. Boycott elections and other measures of the authorities. Organize sabotage, wrecking, fires, subversion, and acts of terrorism. Organize mass disturbances and unauthorized rallies. Destroy the means of mass and government communication. Kill the troops sent to suppress you.... Anything that destabilizes the power of the communists and makes the situation uncontrollable is useful today."

Even if such appeals are provocations staged by individuals or small groups of people—is this not cause for concern? This also applies to the talk about a "new February revolution" and removing the current leadership from power, calls to mount an assault on the Kremlin and Lubyanka and to declare the constitutional structures of the country as "antipeople," all of which have been mentioned previously....

However, even if the "unionwide action" on 25 February was totally free from any hint of extremism, a rally on such a huge scale (as originally planned) could not but play a destabilizing role against the backdrop of the current social tension, economic difficulties, and disorders, being held, as it was, on the eve of the elections to republic and local soviets. Elections, moreover, which called above all for a sober head, clear thinking, political culture, tolerance, and a cooling of emotions.

This is why the supreme organs of state power turned to the citizens of the country with the request to show restraint and reason and to support the efforts of the country's leadership to ensure reliable guarantees for perestroyka.

As a result, the plans of the organizers of this wave of rallies fell considerably short of the target. The scope of the action was substantially smaller than originally planned. It did not prove possible, as planned, to induce people to form so-called civic action committees and to whip up the political atmosphere.

The firm determination of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the CPSU Central Committee, and the government not to allow passions to get out of hand had its impact, as did the preventive measures at the center and at the local level. Many rallies were relatively small, and the working class virtually did not take part in the mass events in an organized fashion. Measures to ensure order and forestall excesses also had their effect. The events on the whole confirmed that the people support perestroyka, regard it as their cause, and that the political leadership is listening to their voice. Local party and soviet organs held 90 alternate rallies attended by some 170,000 people. These gatherings took place, as a rule, on a constructive basis. For instance, at a rally in Gorkiy attended by 20,000 people resolutions on the democratization of the party and against the defamation of cadres were adopted, demanding that the representatives of the various movements stop claiming to be speaking on behalf of the working class; support was also expressed for the precongress CPSU Platform. In Perm an appeal was adopted urging all political associations to consolidate in the name of perestroyka, and to engage in a constructive dialogue. The participants in a rally in Kurgan called for a reinforcement of discipline and order, pledged to vote for communists at the upcoming elections, and urged that rallies aimed at destabilization be denounced. Similar appeals rang out in Vladimir and Kalinin.

At the same time it would be a serious mistake to underestimate the scale and political essence of the events that were held. The mounting rally mania is increasingly exacerbating the sociopolitical situation in the country. People's dissatisfaction with the crisis phenomena in the economy, the difficult financial situation, the imbalance of the market, the deterioration of discipline and order, spreading speculation, and rising crime rate is being used to whip up passions. A radicalization of social consciousness is under way, distrust of official political structures and organs of management is intensifying, and criticism of the "partocracy" and rally-type pressure demanding the resignation of local organs have taken on a demonstratively hostile character.

Tension in interethnic relations is not subsiding either, ever newer regions are being engulfed by the flames of hostility and enmity toward the nonindigenous population. The hundreds of thousands of refugees who are losing faith in justice and the ability of the soviet authorities to protect their civil rights represent the flammable material which may be the cause of new, even more powerful explosions of ethnic discord. Centrifugal tendencies in various parts of the country are intensifying.

Destructive forces are trying to exploit this situation which has taken shape in the country for their own ends. Under the banner of the transfer of power to the "self-organizing" society, an attempt has been made, to all intents and purposes, to seize this power by means of an obviously antidemocratic method—through rally-type strong-arm pressure and calls to make use of the so-called "roundtable" at which, it was claimed, representatives of the authorities and the opposition had to sit down immediately.

What is behind this apparently "superdemocratic" demand? Above all, it would seem, disregard for the truly democratic institutions which exist in the country and have been elected by the whole people—the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the country's Supreme Soviet. After all, among those who are advocating the "roundtable" the loudest are many people's deputies, people who have the opportunity to raise and resolve any questions in the supreme organs of power in the normal, constitutional, and democratic way.

What is preventing them from doing so in a manner which is characteristic of a rule-of-law, parliamentary, or even simply civilized society? Is it really only a blind desire to copy the experience of a number of East European countries?

PRAVDA has already drawn attention to this strange phenomenon of "paternalism in reverse" when certain politicians in our country are trying to enact specific scenarios—the "Czechoslovak," "German," or even the "Romanian" scenario. As for the "roundtable," it has to be noted that even if an opposition in our, Soviet parliament were to be "legalized" (or this is at least how some people's deputies are trying to present this matter), true opposition forces as such do not yet exist in our country, although matters are moving in that direction. The Communist Party favors a dialogue between people committed to different approaches, a comparison of alternate views, and this is being done in the most varied forms—at soviet sessions, party committee plenums, and broad-based discussions in various auditoriums and on the pages of the press, including PRAVDA. However, that does not mean that everyone must immediately sit down at some kind of statewide "roundtable." There are now plenty of democratic forms for the exchange of opinions. The processes of political pluralism are, of course, bound to gather momentum: A guarantee of this are the changes to Articles 6 and 7 of the USSR Constitution which were introduced at the Extraordinary Third Congress of People's Deputies, and the development of a multiparty system. However, this process must take place within the framework of democracy and the rule of law.

Unfortunately, at recent rallies the antiparty and antisocialist thrust of speeches and the desire to discredit the leadership of the party and the country is becoming increasingly blatant. For instance, at an unsanctioned rally in Sverdlovsk slogans on the lines of "Communism—the bloodstained idea of the 20th century!" were used, and at a rally on Zubovskaya Square in Moscow member of the "Democratic Union" S. Kuznetsov declared: "The present system is tantamount to state gangsterism. We are in for great upheavals," and he went on to call for a boycott of the elections to republic and local soviets. And what was the purpose of the attempts by a mob to destroy the V.I. Lenin Monument in downtown Tbilisi, and the destruction of Lenin sculptures in a number of population centers in Georgia. Radical forces of the "left" and the "right"—of extremes which are equally contraindicated in the present, frankly speaking, critical conditions—are uniting in the struggle against perestroyka and democracy.

The critical nature of the present moment is no longer the result merely of spontaneous processes. There is evidence of forced efforts to form an organized opposition to the existing structures of state power. The political struggle for power has taken on overt forms. So, in the course of the Extraordinary Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the representatives of the people have foiled the implementation of far-reaching and well-coordinated plans to thwart the election of the first president of the USSR and thereby to plunge the country into another period of instability.

Overt political struggle as such is no tragedy, of course, provided it is waged within the framework of the democratic process, rather than by means of unconstitutional methods of the seizure of power. However, the representatives of certain political groupings no longer make a secret of such designs, by planning forcible actions with the aim of provoking the authorities into taking retaliatory steps, and resorting to methods of political pressure and manipulation of public opinion by means of propaganda.

A section of the people, unfortunately, succumbs easily to the hypnosis of the populist jargon. It is also sad to note that the characteristic feature of the rallies that have been held has been the active participation in them in the capacity of organizers of a number of members of the interregional group of deputies. Some of them, including members of the CPSU, have embarked on the path of an overt political opposition struggle; they are putting forward slogans which are incompatible with the party line and with constitutional norms, and they resort to methods which are far removed from the principles of democracy and intraparty relations. In these conditions a fundamental dissociation from them, a transition to overt polemics, to the exposure of their true aspirations and aims, and to unmasking their true political and moral face becomes inevitable.

Separatist sentiments within the CPSU are also being whipped up in order to undermine political stability. In the wake of the departure of the Lithuanian Communist Party from the CPSU, other party organizations have picked up this line. There are also people within the CPSU who, by exaggerating the critical mood of many communists, are deliberately inflating the existing contradictions and differences, presenting them not as problems for partywide discussion but as grounds for the creation of an independent party. At the same time it is obvious that in conditions of real political pluralism and an incipient multiparty system it will be necessary to ensure a more precise definition of positions, and an ideological and organizational rallying of the CPSU, while any attempts and actions which look like a striving for factionalism will inflict serious damage on the party's political activity. People who aspire to creating closed groups within the party with their own program and rigorous organizational discipline should be thoroughly aware of this. We have all the preconditions and a reliable ideological platform to achieve the fundamental unity of the party. We must not waste this opportunity in the current complex situation.

In connection with the buildup of economic, sociopolitical, and ethnic tension in the country, and the closing of the ranks of left-wing and right-wing extremism, the healthy forces of society demand insistently the reinforcement of democratic law and order and decisive actions within the framework of the law.

In order to overcome dangerous and destructive tendencies it is important to strengthen the links of the soviets and party organizatons with the masses, the workers movement, positive social forces, and working people's action groups. Party organizations must work persistently to establish day-to-day constructive cooperation with people's deputies at all levels and assist the newly elected union republic supreme soviets and local soviets in the organization of their activities and the solution of topical socioeconomic questions.

What is needed above all are energetic efforts to achieve a breakthrough in the economy, in combating crime and corruption, and in strengthening the rule and power of the law. It is expected that the elected president of the USSR will submit to the people a package of measures to overcome the prevailing crisis situation. The proposals of all movements and platforms put forward in the context of the general political process and in legal form can and must be taken into account here. The party favors a democratic dialogue and the consolidation of all healthy forces on the perestroyka platform.

It is necessary to deepen the democratic transformations within the party. Right now, in the precongress period, in the light of proposals received from party committess and organizations, a democratization of the work of the CPSU Central Committee is under way and overdue cadre questions are being resolved. In the course of the discussion of the draft CPSU Platform for the 28th congress and the party's draft new statutes, and during the elections of delegates to the party congress a broad debate will take place on the most vital issues of our life, and radically renewed norms of the party's work will crystallize in practice—a party which is entering a fundamentally new stage of its history. This work has been initiated by the party itself in an effort to recover its "life force"—broad intraparty democracy—and the image of a genuinely vanguard sociopolitical organization rather than a closed privileged caste.

Democracy is inseparable from order, a high standard of organization, and strict observance of the law. Therefore, it is necessary resolutely to put a stop to anticonstitutional actions and to adopt tough measures everywhere to reinforce public order and the rule of law, proceeding from the need reliably to protect the life, rights, freedoms, and property of citizens and the inviolability of their homes and property. It is necesary to implement without delay a range of measures to end speculation and violations of trade regulations. An important task is that of ensuring strict observance of the procedure for holding rallies, marches, and demonstrations, promptly rebuffing any manifestations of extremism, and applying the full force of the law against people who incite social or interethnic strife.

Destabilizing, explosive processes impose a great burden on policy and people's state of mind. This burden demands a firm, steady, reliable, and effective power capable of consolidating multifaceted and multidirectional interests and stabilizing the development of the country. Now, as a result of the election of the president of the USSR, such a power exists. The president of the country will, by all his practical actions, preserve and develop the social system which has been freely chosen by the people, and maintain civic peace and national accord.

Perestroyka must be reliably defended against violence and folly, against political ignorance and extremism. And this must be done by all of us together, communists and nonparty people, all who treasure the fatherland and its future based on humane and democratic socialism.

'Organized Resistance' Taking Shape

LD2603000890 Moscow World Service in English 2300 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] A Soviet national daily has suggested safeguarding perestroyka against violence, political ignorance, and extremism. PRAVDA believes the growing number of sporadic meetings fuels the public situation and clears the way for destructive trends. It says in the face of the link-up of right and left-wing extremists, healthy groups in society demand reinforcing democratic law and order. It feels it is no longer sporadic changes that make the situation stand out. An organized reistance to the authorities is taking shape. PRAVDA believes political struggle must be waged democratically, and not damage the constitution. Ways out of the crisis can and must be found on proposals of the various movements and platforms in the context of the general political situation and in legal forms.

People's Deputies Comment on Presidency

90UN1172A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian No 10, 10 Mar 90 p 2

[Unattributed article: "All Presidential Authority"]

[Text] **The draft law which has been published in the press about the establishment of the post of president of the USSR has given rise to many debates and discussions. We asked some USSR people's deputies for their opinion on the question of presidential rule.**

The Mandate for Authority Is From the People

Oleg Bogomolov, USSR people's deputy and academician:

It is unrealistic to restructure and renew our society without the wide participation and support of the people and without a high degree of popular agreement with the purposes and tasks of reform. It is also unrealistic to count on the success of reorganization without an authoritative and strong authority capable of making bold, and at times unpopular decisions, and in so doing maintaining the revolutionary process of change in democratic forms and not permitting painful excesses.

Unfortunately there are quite a few indications that the people's trust in the authority of power has been shaken. This is dangerous for the fate of perestroyka. Will this deficiency be overcome by the establishment of the post of president of the USSR, with broad powers right down to the declaration of martial law or an emergency situation in individual locations?

Yes, if the president is invested with the trust of the people.

The central problem, in my opinion, is not the determination in the Constitution of the scope of the jurisdiction of the president, but the restoration of the trust of the broad masses in the authority and the policy that the president must implement. Therefore, it is so important for him to have a national mandate so that the people, in electing a president, can compare the political platforms of the aspirants to this post and their views on the resolution of "hot" problems—the union system, the diversity of forms of property, political pluralism and multiparties, ensuring a public consensus, etc. So that a popular election is made on this basis.

It is also difficult to imagine the normal functioning of the institution of presidential power in a rule-of-law state without mechanisms of restraint of power. For example, the authority and power of the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies should be genuine, and the parliamentary opposition must gain legal status.

Do the extraordinary criticality and crisis nature of the situation in our country warrant divergence from the democratic procedure for electing a president that is inherent in many civilized states? Taking specific circumstances and a specific candidacy into account, I think it is possible to go along with well-known exceptions and to permit election of the president by the Congress of People's Deputies. However, for a period—a year or a year and a half so that during this time a president could prepare or accelerate the preparation of a new union agreement, the formation of a multiparty political system, and the creation of normal conditions for national presidential elections.

Are We Not Hurrying?

Yuriy Shcherbak, USSR People's Deputy, writer:

We have to resolve a most important if not historical question at the special third congress: to establish or not to establish the institution of presidential power in the state? By a majority of votes, the USSR Supreme Soviet declared for this proposal. I think that a majority of the deputies of the congress will also act this way inasmuch as the instability in society is such that the yearning for order and for strong authority is taking over the minds of the people more and more forcefully. And still....

I categorize myself as a supporter of the presidency, but I cannot understand why we are trying to adopt such an extremely important decision in a hasty way.

It already became clear at the session that the greatest anxiety is aroused by the fact that we are trying to introduce a new institution, while not having determined what kind of a state our president will have to lead. The fundamentals of the new union agreement are not ready; that is, the congress will not examine them even in general outlines. Under these conditions we are supposed to look into the question of the powers of presidential authority.... But, you see, they must be different—depending on what our state becomes: a confederation, a federation, or some kind of other alliance of republic-states.

Different republics see the future of the USSR differently. I am not now talking about Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—this is a special question. But the question about sovereignty also troubles the Ukraine. During the many years of Stalinism and the Brezhnev stagnation, it was in fact a spiritual and political province. But, you see, the Ukraine is a large European state with a population of 52 million, and it is a member of the United Nations.

Perhaps it is now already late to consider what should have been done before the adoption of this decision. I am still inclined to think that it is necessary to discuss this once more at the congress in order to give M.S. Gorbachev all necessary authority, after postponing the elections of president to 1991 and examining the principles of the new union agreement in a preliminary way. I fear that if we do not do this, a constitutional crisis could erupt at the congress.

On the Way to a Rule-of-Law "Triumvirate"

Aleksandr Yakovlev, USSR people's deputy, professor:

That the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet was also the highest official of the state was fully justified in the first stages of perestroyka. That is, he embodied both the functions of leader of the legislative organ and the functions of the head of executive authority. The division of these functions is a legitimate way of building a rule-of-law state. But this is not the main thing. The introduction of presidential authority will make it possible finally to resolve the very important problem of separating party and state leadership. The forthcoming party congress, I am convinced, will impart a more democratic character to the party and its apparatus; it will orient it on political methods of leading society; and it will free it, finally, from fulfilling state functions, which in general must not in any way be inherent in the party leadership.

But this is done not to put them in opposition to one another. As the saying goes, render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's and unto God that which is God's. So that the party would be engaged in politics and ideology, and state authority would stand on firm constitutional legislative principles.

At the same time there are also misgivings. A strong executive authority headed by a president with prestige is effective and democratic given a strong central role of the legislative authority—an independent parliament. For what does executive authority do? Laws are approved by the legislature. It is another matter that the president is not simply a "yes man." As the head of state he formulates policy. For example, take Roosevelt's New Deal, which changed the policy of the United States. The president can, must, and is obligated to propose a new idea and the direction of development. Otherwise, he cannot be any kind of president of a great country. But he can implement this policy in a democratic state only through parliament and with its concurrence. Only in the form of laws which parliament will ratify or not ratify. Parliament also must not be willful and capricious. For example, in the first amendment to the American Constitution the concept is set forth that congress will not make laws that abridge the political rights of citizens (freedom of speech and the press, and the freedom of assembly and demonstrations). We are still not familiar with the term—self-restraint of authority. Meanwhile, the president must have the right of veto of laws that could be adopted in haste or under the influence of passions.

Democratic order in society wins under conditions of the independent separate existence of two authoritative, mutually respectful, and mutually monitored powers—legislative and executive.

It is necessary also that our Supreme Court decided the question of the constitutionality of any legislative acts of the state so that our judicial system would become really independent, and that the republics would finally remember that it is on them that the introduction of juries now depends—the most democratic form of legal procedure. This is a decisive step on the side of an independent judicial authority.

A strong parliament, a strong president, and a strong court—this is the triad of a strong and effective authority of a democratic rule-of-law state.

Marshal Yefimov on March Plenum Topics

PM2503175790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Mar 90 First Edition p 1

["Topical Interview" with Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, USSR deputy defense minister and commander in chief of Air Forces, by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Colonel A. Manushkin; date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction: "Proceeding From Life Rather Than From Preconceived Ideas"]

[Text] Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR deputy minister of defense and commander in chief of the Air Force, answers questions put by our newspaper.

[Manushkin] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, the party Central Committee plenum opened 11 March. It adjourned twice. What was the reason for this?

[Yefimov] There were five questions on the plenum agenda. It therefore stands to reason that it was impossible to discuss them all and adopt decisions on them in the course of one day. Therefore the first point on which the plenum participants defined their position was the important question of the proposals on Articles 6 and 7 of the USSR Constitution to be submitted to the Extraordinary Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies. The plenum interrupted its work in connection with the opening of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. The plenum participants met again to discuss and submit to the congress their proposals on the candidacy for the post of president of the USSR. On the final day the plenum completed the debate on the report of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

[Manushkin] Can you share your impressions of the plenum proceedings. Which problems were debated at the plenum most keenly?

[Yefimov] I believe it will be no exaggeration to say that the CPSU Central Committee March Plenum will be of decisive importance for the party's future. Which path of development will it follow? What will be its place in society in the process of renewal? How should communists seek to implement their goals and tasks in the new conditions? These and many other vitally important questions were at the focus of discussion at the plenum. Opinions differed frequently, and sometimes they were diametrically opposed. However, all its participants were united in the concern to strengthen the party, its authority, and its organizational unity.

[Manushkin] What fundamentally new principles are enshrined in the draft CPSU Statutes?

[Yefimov] I don't want to anticipate events. After all, as is known, the plenum has instructed the editorial commission and the Central Committee Politburo to finalize the draft CPSU Statutes in the light of the observations submitted and the discussion held. However, in broad terms, it is possible in my opinion to mention a number of points.

The draft incorporates provisions which reflect the role of the party at the decisive stage of perestroyka in the country and the profound transformations taking place throughout intraparty life. It is planned to considerably broaden the scope of primary party organizations' autonomy. Specifically, this applies to admissions to the CPSU, and to opportunities to use initiative in making decisions on defining the forms of activity and their own structure....

Intraparty relations are to be built on the basis of democracy, comradeship, pluralism of opinions, glasnost, and respect for minority interests. All this will, of course, go hand in hand with party discipline. The party must remain organizationally strong and united.... When the draft CPSU Statutes have been finalized, they will be published in the press and submitted for discussion.

[Manushkin] The plenum decided on the date for convening the 28th CPSU Congress, on the holding of the report-and-election campaign in the party, on the representation ratio, and on the procedure for electing congress delegates. Could you comment on these decisions?

[Yefimov] The congress will be convened 2 July this year. The approval of the representation ratio did not generate any special controversy either. There were various viewpoints as regards the holding of the report-and-election campaign. Personally, I believe that the most sensible solution would be to hold it prior to the congress. Judge for yourselves, this would make it possible not only to develop a lively debate on the draft Central Committee Platform and the draft CPSU Statutes but also, in accordance with the realities of perestroyka, to renew all leading organs of the party. They would be infused with fresh forces which would receive the communists' mandate of confidence. In the reports and the elections, and in the course of a principled and frank discussion in party collectives, a program of practical actions could be drawn up. Strong people, people who wield authority and are true champions of perestroyka would be elected to attend the congress.

[Manushkin] Comrade commander in chief, the role of party organizations and political organs in the USSR Armed Forces was also discussed at the plenum. What are your views on this problem?

[Yefimov] Several speakers dwelt on this question. In my opinion, we must seek to strengthen party organizations in the Armed Forces. As for the problem of political organs, I believe that this question requires careful study and detailed elaboration.

[Manushkin] Why has the former procedure for electing delegates been changed, and will Army party organizations now elect their delegates autonomously?

[Yefimov] Life itself has shown that the results of a congress depend on the composition of the delegates, as, indeed, does its place in the history of the party. For this very reason it has been decided that the elections should be democratic, that they should take place on a competitive basis providing a choice of candidates and enabling every communist to take part in the formation of the composition of the country's supreme party forum. Candidates will present their positions, viewpoints, and programs on various issues of party policy and practical work.

Elections will take place in both single-seat and multiseat electoral okrugs.

As for Army and Navy delegates, they were formerly elected along with delegates from territorial party organizations. However, you will agree that Army communists have a number of specific tasks and problems which are entirely their own. Therefore the following mechanism is defined in the plenum resolution: Delegates will be elected directly at party conferences of the relevant combined units, okrugs, and branches of the Armed Forces.... This, I believe, is fair.

[Manushkin] The plenum adopted a resolution "On a Russian Party Conference" which notes the advisability of convening this conference prior to the 28th CPSU Congress. What prompted this decision?

[Yefimov] You must understand, in all the union republics there are communist party organizations, and they have their own central committee. The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] is the only republic where this does not exist. Is this fair, perhaps? It is true that recently a Russian Bureau was set up at the CPSU Central Committee. But that is not the same thing. I believe that the Russian party organization must eliminate this discrepancy—I would even describe it as inequality—vis-a-vis the communist parties of the other union republics.

[Manushkin] On what will the actual date of holding the Russian party conference depend?

[Yefimov] Some speakers at the plenum suggested that the party conference be held as early as April of the current year. However, I believe that the date will depend on when communists elect the delegates who will represent the RSFSR party organizations at the 28th congress. For they will also represent the communists at a Russian party conference.

[Manushkin] What are the main results of the plenum, in your opinion?

[Yefimov] It marked the end of the first stage of preparations for the 28th CPSU Congress. Documents pertaining to the party program and statutes are being submitted for discussion. The proposals and ideas formulated in these documents will serve as a good basis for a broad precongress debate in the party on the topical problems of its development, perestroyka, and the future of our country.

Economic

Decline of Ruble Status Examined

PM2203143190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 2

[M. Berger article under rubric "Fact and Commentary"; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction: "Unloved Ruble"]

[Text] Rubles are increasingly being refused as a form of payment. Recently Aeroflot decreed that tickets for internal flights should only be sold to foreigners for hard currency.

The inscriptions on our bills are gradually becoming obsolete. And the point is not merely that in terms of its buying power the current ruble has long since ceased to correspond to the ruble of the early sixties (according to economist A. Zaychenko's calculations, in comparison today's ruble is only worth 34 kopeks). Another, relatively new, but constantly expanding phenomenon is worse: People are increasingly requesting that rubles not be tendered in payment for certain goods and services.

Today probably the most topical of all the inscriptions on state bank notes is the warning about counterfeiting. But it may even be the case that there is no point in forging rubles: The inscription they carry declaring that they are acceptable without fail "throughout Soviet territory for all payments to all institutions, enterprises, and individuals at face value" is gradually becoming purely symbolic.

For quite a large number of our "institutions, enterprises, and individuals" acceptance of rubles has not been binding for some time. Incidentally, one of the first people to draw the public's attention to this phenomenon was Academician A. Sakharov. Many people have probably heard how, long before his exile in Gorkiy, he made a point of trying to buy goods in a foreign-currency "Beryozka" store with rubles, referring to the fact that they must be accepted for all payments throughout the territory.

Some people assessed this at the time as malicious crankiness, others as the academician's inability to comprehend the "state interests" which the "Beryozka" stores catered for in earning foreign exchange. Although, we would note, all their foreign exchange earnings could be blown on a single thoughtless contract for the purchase of entirely useless imported machinery, which is something our foreign trade businessmen have always been good at. (Proof of that is the fact that uninstalled imported equipment runs into billions of foreign currency rubles).

But however the academician's "sortie" was assessed it was hard at the time to imagine that limiting the sphere of a national currency's applicability to its own territory would take on such a tangible scale. More and more payments these days are accepted exclusively in freely convertible currency and no other form.

The Ministry of Civil Aviation's International Commercial Administration has distributed instructions on the new procedure for selling seats on international and domestic flights. This directive means that henceforth foreign diplomats and correspondents accredited in the USSR, members of their families, foreign citizens arriving in the USSR at the invitation and expense of Soviet organizations, foreigners working in the USSR under contract to foreign trade organizations at Soviet or joint enterprises, and, moreover, Soviet citizens resident abroad will have to use only hard currency in payment for tickets for Aeroflot's international and domestic flights.

There is no point asking why Aeroflot likes hard currency more than Soviet rubles. It is more important to explain something else: What arguments people should put forward to entitle them to ignore the state obligations printed on state bank notes. The expansion of the range of people obliged to pay in foreign exchange for their international air tickets is—albeit with provisos—explicable: Aeroflot too pays in foreign currency for its aircraft to be serviced at foreign airports, and this expenditure needs to be recouped somehow. Admittedly, foreign airlines too do not pay in rubles for the servicing they receive, and this revenue should ideally compensate to a considerable extent for Aeroflot's similar expenditure abroad, particularly if one bears in mind that our airline—the world's biggest—spends immeasurably less foreign currency on the upkeep of the crew and service personnel on international flights than any other airline.

But, whatever the case, paying foreign currency for international flights is within the realms of common sense. It is worse with domestic flights. Should Khabarovsk air services charge Moscow pilots in dollars for their services, or should crews on the Moscow-Kiev or Moscow-Tashkent routes earn hard currency for their work? It is absurd to even imagine such a thing. But why then it is considered sensible to charge passengers in convertible currency in places where there is no foreign-currency expenditure?

M. Gorbunov, chief of the Ministry of Civil Aviation International Commercial Administration's Tariffs Department, with whom I spent a long time discussing this innovation, called on people not to criticize but to appreciate the situation. Aeroflot's foreign exchange earnings have always been completely taken away from it, with a certain amount later being returned in line with the state foreign-currency plan. Although earning millions, Aeroflot had no opportunity to spend them on maintaining and developing its material base and it ultimately reached the point in which it now finds itself. Providing a quality service requires considerable investment, not least in hard currency. With the transition to foreign-exchange cost recovery we now need to earn dollars and pounds ourselves....

Well, those are healthy arguments. Except that in practice little has changed and the theoretically new model for earning foreign exchange differs hardly at all from the old model. Previously hard currency was extracted from the government and Gosplan [State Planning Committee], now it is being extracted (extracted rather than earned) from people who have convinced the government of the need to take dollars in payment for what was previously paid for in rubles. And Aeroflot clients, deprived of any choice, have been forced to tender dollars, even though rubles should be accepted "for all payments and by all institutions and organizations." Incidentally, this is the only way a monopoly can behave, since the interests of the consumer do not exist as far as it is concerned. Why try to please a client condemned to use your services?

Gorbunov points out that it would simply be a crime not to take foreign currency for domestic flights from businessmen doing business with joint ventures, all the more so as domestic tariffs are approximately five times lower than international tariffs. But why then not charge five times more rubles? "What can you buy with rubles?" was the way Gorbunov answered the question.

One of the main factors restraining the development of joint ventures—on which we seem to be pinning considerable hope—is our foreign partners' lack of interest in earning ruble-denominated profits. The prospect of even partial convertibility for our money is very vague, and if, against that backdrop, we sharply reduced the opportunities for spending that money inside the country (which is what Aeroflot has done in this case) it will be very difficult to count on the rapid development of this sector of the economy.

My interlocutor from the Ministry of Civil Aviation objected that joint ventures should invest the rubles they earn in their own development rather than traveling around the country. But what can they buy with rubles? I turned Aeroflot's own argument against it. Moreover, joint ventures, as a rule, do not receive funds or quotas from Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply], yet are being asked to pay for services everywhere in foreign exchange....

Following Aeroflot's logic, Moscow's bakeries, which undoubtedly also need foreign currency to develop, will now start selling loaves to foreigners exclusively for dollars or francs, and the subway will set up separate turnstiles for "foreign passengers." Why not?

Aeroflot's foreign currency demands could substantially influence the development of noncommercial international relations. Scientific, cultural, and other contacts which were previously maintained on a reciprocal basis will be sharply cut back: They carry our specialists at their own expense around their countries, while we carry their people around the world's largest country using our money. The opportunity for such trips is a highly important factor behind travel to the USSR for many authorities from various spheres, since they quite rightly do not count on earning money in our country from lectures, consultancy, or other methods used in the West. Our side can now only accept guests exclusively at the guests' own expense.

The inevitable reduction in contacts and exchanges that this entails hardly accords with state interests, which are allegedly protected by the new flight payment regulations. And it is outlying areas—particularly the Urals and beyond—which will suffer most because either people will stop going there altogether, or they will only travel if absolutely necessary.

Gorbunov stressed that the new regulations do not extend to state organizations such as the State Concert Association, the State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, the Main Administration for Foreign Tourism, and certain other organizations, as well as departments and organizations linked to foreign partners by intergovernmental agreements. But this is not flexibility, rather it is protectionism with regard to all-union state organizations and "brother-monopolists."

There is no doubt that it is annoying for Aeroflot when a Tokyo businessman, instead of paying $1,800 for a Tokyo-Moscow flight, flies to Khabarovsk for a relatively small amount, and from there covers the 7,000 km to Moscow for just R122. And he obtains those R122 at a special rate in return for $20.

"The state pays us less so as to keep tariffs down, and they exploit our facilities," Gorbunov explained. "They brought in this special exchange rate without consulting us. Can you credit it—a bottle of whisky costing the same as a 7,000-km flight? They're all just laughing at us. That's why you shouldn't just look at the legal aspect of our decision. If we can see that the state is being bilked, we should do something about it, and then legalize those actions. That would be a statesmanlike approach...."

That is a good position for building a rule-of-law state.

Maybe someone may indeed laugh about flying from Khabarovsk to Moscow for $20. However, we too have a number of reasons to celebrate. For instance, when our banks change a dollar for 60 kopeks at the official rate, and those who—if we believe Aeroflot—until recently laughed at our aircraft have no other option but to accept these terms. So we still do not know whom these calculations favor. It is also absurd to complain about the special ruble rate to the dollar, which provides nothing for our treasury, despite the financiers' promises to derive considerable foreign currency profits from it. Holders of foreign currency are in no hurry to exchange it for rubles even at 10 times the official rate. R6 obtained for a dollar is just as undesirable in payment for goods or services in this country as R6 exchanged for $10. So now Aeroflot is refusing to take rubles, virtually eliminating the sphere in which the special rate can be used. If it does not wither away as a failure, it is only because it still acts as a kind of tax on Soviet citizens traveling abroad on private business and forced to pay 10 times more than before to exchange their currency.

As for "their" taking advantage of our cheap facilities—as far as I am aware any foreigner in the FRG pays exactly the same price for railroad tickets as a West German citizen, even though the railroads in that country are state-subsidized.

No, it is hard to agree with most of Aeroflot's arguments, however much we may want to. There is only one indisputable advantage to the decision it has made: It gives us one more very major reason for thinking about the growing "ruble disease"—the fact that the ruble is losing its positions not merely in terms of buying power but in its sphere of use. If things continue in this direction, soon price lists in stores will carry the warning "Rubles not accepted."

The ruble needs urgent treatment to prevent people shunning it.

Prospects, Problems of Conversion Viewed

PM2203145890 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 10, 6-12 Mar 90 pp 30-32

[Aleksey Kireyev article: "Crawling Towards Disarmament"]

[Text] Here are quotations from some statements made at the February 1990 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

V. Kozlenkov, secretary of the party committee, the Progress Plant (the Kuibyshev region): "I have the impression that no one deals with the problems of conversion."

V. Shabanov, senior foreman of the Saratov Power Generating Unit Production Amalgamation: "The record of munitions industry conversion shows that it should be done in a more thought-out and comprehensive way."

Boris Belousov, minister of the defence industry of the USSR: "I think it's time we have worked out, discussed and passed a law on the conversion of the defence industry of the USSR:

Nikolay Gubenko, minister of culture of the USSR: "If the CPSU comes out with a conversion programme, let our defence industry take upon itself the defence of culture.... Please return to culture a monument of culture and architecture created by Stasov.... I mean the food store which is now used as a motor depot by the Defence Ministry."

The conversion situation does not satisfy anyone, from workers to ministers. Why?

Statistics or phantoms?

In the military economic sphere, glasnost is of a most peculiar nature: If you want information, it is yours for the asking—only you will hardly be able to make head or tail of it.

To begin with, the statistics pertaining to the Soviet defence budget were made public; the figures named—77.3 billion rubles last year and 71 billion rubles this year—caused bewilderment in this country and abroad because they were out of economic context.

What do these figures stand for: allocations or expenditures? Do they include the expenses involved in keeping our troops abroad, in rendering military aid to foreign countries, in the production of nuclear ammunition and fissile materials? In the United States, whose war budget structure was, judging by everything, assumed as a basis, these expenditures are included in the budget items "international affairs" and "Energy Department expenditures."

Besides, it is not clear in what prices—permament or current—the cost of military research and development work is estimated. Is not a part of these expenditures included in the budgets of the Academy of Sciences or other departments, or is this case of double—entry bookkeeping? And finally, where is the money required to finance conversion to come from: the resources of the defence complex itself or from some other items of the state budget?

Then it was announced that the munitions industry's output was to be reduced, as against the five-year-plan target figures, by 19.5 per cent; tanks supply, by 52 per cent; ammunition, by 20 per cent; combat aircraft, by 12 per cent; and combat helicopters, 60 per cent. That's a fine example of glasnost, indeed! What were the original target figures? What kind of reductions—physical or cost—are these? There are no answers to these questions so far.

What followed was more surprising still. Our defence department's executives began to make active publicity for conversion and showered researchers with figures. The term "conversion" was applied to the transfer of military technology to civil industries; to the increase in the output of civil products by munitions factories; to the delivery of oranges to Chukotka reindeer breeders by military transport planes; and even to the scrapping of rusty warships.

Conversion is a process new to us, and not all of us know as yet that it means, above all, the expansion of civil production not along with, but instead of arms manufacturing; the profitability level to be achieved in the process should be comparable with the pre-conversion figure. Therefore, individual attempts to use military equipment for civil purposes or to retrieve a part of its cost at least by selling it cannot be regarded as conversion. As for the transfer of new technologies from the military sector to the civil one, not as part of conversion, this is common practice in all the Western countries and is known as "spin-off."

The inaccurate quotation of statistics and other military-economic information—which, for obvious reasons, draws close attention not only in our country but abroad as well—also causes many eyebrows to rise. Even Igor Belousov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, chairman of the State Military-Industrial Commission sometimes contradicts himself in his numerous interviews (I counted five of them last year alone).

In an interview granted to the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspaper on February 10, 1989, for instance, he said that the munitions industry would produce 3,000 items of new consumer durables before the year 1995 worth a total of seven billion rubles. On August 28 of the same year he said, in a PRAVDA interview, that the above mentioned 3,000 items would be produced to a sum of 17.5 billion rubles. Examples of such inaccuracies abound. They are registered by western researchers who, not without reason, judge about the seriousness of our intentions in the field of conversion by the information they get.

Besides, a substantial proportion of information on our munitions industry is simply devoid of all sense. The assertion that in 1995 the munitions industry will increase the output of civil products to 60 per cent of the total as compared with 40 per cent today has gained currency. It is hard to tell how this proportion can be calculated. One surely cannot count in terms of individual items because tanks are incomparable with washing machines. It is impossible to count in terms of cost, either, because weapons and combat equipment are supplied to the armed forces at their prime—if not lower—cast, and their market price is unknown, while the price of complicated domestic appliances includes an enormous turnover tax—and, besides, their prices are determined here not by market forces but by the State Committee for Prices. How can one compare incomparable things?

Monopoly is consolidating

The need for planning conversion became a subject of discussions here after Mikhail Gorbachev, speaking at the United Nations, had voiced our government's readiness to work out a plan of conversion in the USSR as part of the economic reform. Somewhat later the government promised to work this plan out by the end of 1989.

The year 1990 came. Judging by official statements, the conversion programme has already been worked out and is now under discussion at the interested organizations, ministries and departments. Its draft has not been published and is, therefore, unknown to the general public. In the meantime, practical conversion is proceeding at full blast—that is not according to plan.

Judging by the comments which have infiltrated into the press, conversion is being planned and carried out in this country by the same quarters which have been implementing armaments buildup plans for decades. Disarmament has been made a responsibility of those who are least interested in it—the defence complex. This violates one of the main commandments coming from world experience: conversion should be planned and stimulated by the forces not connected with the military-industrial complex and capable of offering a fresh alternative view of the demilitarization problem.

Judging by our press reports, the Soviet defence complex is not going to reckon even with the USSR Supreme Soviet. It is accustomed to getting as much money as it wants, without caring much for the state budget. You want conversion? All right, we shall give it to you, but it will cost you some money. As Gennadiy Filshin told the Second Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, the defence complex had asked for 63 billion rubles to begin with (on top of the funds allocated to capital construction), but did not as much as explain what it needed all this money for.

From the discussion that followed it transpired that the money was intended for financing the construction of the defence complex's new civil production plants.

Against this background, the nine billion rubles which are to go into conversion proper look mere chicken feed.

Considering the fact that the enterprises of the Ministry of Light and Food industry Engineering, which had been closed down after virtually falling apart, was handed over to the defence complex, it is quite obvious that under the guise of conversion the defence complex keeps swelling as it absorbs ever more civil production plants. Actually, this is conversion being done the wrong way round: Instead of handing over the plants released by the reduction of arms production to civil industries, the military sector keeps demanding extra funds for making civil goods, while leaving its military-industrial potential practically intact.

In this way we are missing the unique chance to effect a deep demilitarization of our economy by redistributing the resources available on a wide scale. This would lead, in turn, not only to dramatic restructuring which would break down the barriers of secrecy separating our economy into two uncommunicating sectors—civil and military ones—but also to a higher efficacy of our defence potential which would then rest not upon a narrow enclave of plants off limits to the unauthorized, but upon the whole of the country's economic potential.

In the meantime, the hypertrophied military economy continues, under the slogans of conversion, to consolidate its monopoly on the production of many civil goods. This leads our stagnant economy still further away from the market, and blocks the development of healthy competition. This explains, perhaps, why the West, while supporting conversion in words, actually ignores our offers of large-scale cooperation with the Soviet enterprises being converted.

It is difficult to make tea kettles

The first results of conversion were summed up late last year. Frankly, they are far from encouraging. The programme for getting under way the quantity production of highly efficient farm produce processing equipment has not been fulfilled. Three quarters of the annual working time fund were used in nine months of 1989, with the industrial output plan for the year fulfilled by only 68 per cent. Only 23 machines and equipment items out of 120 went into commercial production, and merely 15 per cent of this equipment are up to internationally accepted quality standards. A great deal of criticism was levelled against conversion at the Second Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR.

Conversion is obviously slipping. The munitions industry does not cope with the manufacturing of elementary products. In 1988-89, the Ministry of the Aircraft Industry failed to produce 3,040 machines worth 15.6 million rubles, or 21 per cent of the output planned, on the grounds that sole-cutting presses, leather dyeing units and other shoe industry machines were "too complicated." Leningrad's famous Krasnyy Vyborzhets Plant failed to fulfill its electric teakettle output plan. Asked why, the plant's general director replied that an electric teakettle was too complicated a piece of domestic equipment.

Ironically, a spaceship building plant has proved unable to get the production of a sausage line going. This is not surprising to me, however. I take this as an evidence of the conversion mechanism not being thought out well enough, of our factory managers having no precise notion of economic stimuli and levers.

We must realize, first and foremost, that conversion is expedient only when it is economically efficient. From this angle, all the munitions plants fall into three groups: those to be completely converted to civil production in the case of disarmament; those to be partially converted; and those to be laid up or dismantled.

As far as one can gather from press reports, over 420 munitions plants are subject to conversion, its extent varying from 5 to 100 per cent. Therefore, complete conversion is provided for in a number of cases. It is very important to determine at once what makes more sense economically: to try and adapt these plants to the production of civil goods, or just to close them down and build new enterprises on the money thus saved.

So far, certain plant managers try to solve the conversion problem either by slowing down the arms production lines, or by increasing the output of consumer goods using auxiliary facilities. Neither practice has proved economically efficient, as is seen from world experience. By reducing the output of tanks or armoured personnel cariers rolling of production lines you cannot adapt the latter to the assembnly of tractors or trucks. Such a reduction would merely result in the plant's below-capacity operation. On the other hand, the attempt to increase civil production in auxilliary shops often fails because of the decrepit state of their equipment.

Therefore, the most rational way to carry out conversion appears to be a complete change-over of individual munitions plants to civilian production and their withdrawal from the defence sector. This does not apply to the plants which do not lend themselves to conversion. These ought to be laid up for a while and their special-purpose equipment sold.

Unlike Western munitions plants, Soviet ones are not faced with the problem of marketing the conversion products. The Soviet market is known to be half empty, and any products will promptly find buyers. Even under these circumstances, however, the munitions plants in question have a rather hard time gearing their conversion efforts to civil requirements. Accustomed to working under state contracts and having no marketing experience, these plants have to look for the buyers of their conversion products on their own.

State multiple purchase orders, which proceeded from some kind of a hypothetical model rather than from real situation, is not of much help. The Ministry of the Aircraft Industry, its general designer complains, has been told to bring the output of automatic packet production lines to 1,000 by 1995. Aircraft plants have made just 90, but cannot find any more buyers for them.

The general directors of many military-industrial complexes instructed to change over the manufacturing of equipment for agro-industrial complex have found out, to their surprise, that their is no clear-cut and purposeful programme for the production of individual items of this equipment. There are statistics on this or that town's milk, meat and bread requirements, but no programme for the production of the relevant technological facilities.

Those who plan conversion should specify the number of factories and equipment items required by the given city or region to meet its demand for certain food products. This is not just another whim of the munitions industry executives but the No. 1 condition of civilized production planning.

The outdated regime of secrecy, which is assuming ever more hypertrophied forms, greatly interferes with conversion. A Central Television camera crew was not let into the "special" shops of the Vladimir Tractor Plant which, as the whole world knows today, manufactures nothing more secret than artillery tractors. The plant operates at only one-fifth capacity, and the workload will decline further as military production is reduced. The released equipment can well be used for the manufacturing of mini-tractors so badly needed by the national economy. But so far, no entry. Only a special resolution of the Council of Ministers, still pending, can open the plant's gate to the general public.

We shall have to wait for this resolution for a long time yet, I am afraid. The ANT syndrom—so named after the notorious concern which tried to smuggle 12 tanks out of the country—has spread all over the munitions industry. Security regulations have been tightened with the result that no munitions plant director will adopt a more or less responsible decision on conversion without permission "from above."

To sum up, we have already committed a lot of blunders over three years of conversion. Positive results are nil, but negative ones abound. In public organizations, in the Supreme Soviet and in the nation at large there is increasing discontent with the forms and methods of carrying conversion. The West is looking at "conversion Soviet style" in bewilderment.

Isn't it time we paused, caught our breath, calmly analyzed all the aspects of conversion and have its prospects subjected to an unbiased examination? I am sure that the USSR Supreme Soviet's committees for the economic reform, industrial development, labour, prices, social policy, ecology, legislation and others—as well as the Committee for Defence and State Security—are to look into the pressing problems of conversion, determine the degree to which the action being taken in this sphere conforms to the economic interests of the country as a whole, and to come up with the appropriate recommendations.

We can no longer afford groping our way by trial and error. We have too little time left, and the price of errors has grown too high.

Scientific

Eight-Point Earthquake Strikes Tajikistan

LD2603133690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1305 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Dushanbe, 26 Mar (TASS)—An earthquake with an epicenter of 380 km southeast of the Tajik capital took place in the republic at 1818 Moscow time [1414 GMT] on Sunday.

According to the Dushanbe seismic station, the force of the tremor at the epicenter reached eight points on the 12-point scale. The underground storm of the force of five to six was felt in Khorog and Ishkashim, three to four in Lukyab, and three in Dushanbe. In the Pamir mountains, in a number of settlements, old-type structures developed cracks. There has been no information on casualties.

Academy of Sciences Holds Annual General Meeting

Makarov Gives Opening Speech

LD2103232490 Moscow TASS in English 2339 GMT 20 Mar 90

[By TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—The development of science and technology and the advancement of perestroyka are the main tasks Soviet science is now facing. These questions are on the agenda of the USSR Academy of Sciences' annual general meeting, which opened on Tuesday.

Soviet science, although there is a lag in some areas, has to its credit valuable research, for instance in physics, engineering, biotechnologies and other areas, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences Guriy Marchuk said in his opening speech.

These are works on bio-mechanics, establishment of ecologically clean productions, development of safe and reliable equipment.

There are many shortcomings in the development of Soviet science and its management, chief academic secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, Academician Igor Makarov said in his speech. There are in the first place the imperfection of the fundamental research funding system, the poor technical provision and the inadequate independence of scientific research institutions.

The interaction between science and technology was also discussed today. The Supreme Soviet rarily takes up questions of scientific-technological progress, participants in the general meeting believe.

This is largely the fault of scientists-parliamentarians. Like all scientists, they should actively participate in restructuring society. The Academy of Sciences, for instance, undertook the responsibility for drawing up a comprehensive socio-econonmic prognosis of the country's development for 20 years.

The meeting will last till March 23. The leading Soviet scientists will meet again late in April to elect a new president and new vice-presidents of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Proposals, Resolutions Discussed

LD2303142390 Moscow TASS in English 1335 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—Science should play a crucial role in carrying through Soviet reforms, according to most speakers at the annual session of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, which ended here today.

Soviet science has made considerable progress during the past year, they said, praising work in biomechanics, environmentally-safe technologies and industrial safety.

Improvements were also visible in the organisation of the conference itself. It abounded in prudent and constructive proposals on how to upgrade scientific and technological work.

The debates moved into high gear, as prominent scientists discussed problems plaguing academic science—its links with production, training programmes and financing difficulties.

The proposals will be included in a draft resolution on the guidelines for the work of Soviet Academy of Sciences Research Institute.

The session amended the Academy's rules to make them more democratic and ensure legal protection of scientists.

It also decided to posthumously restore the membership of scientists who were expelled without any grounds.

Late in April leading Soviet scientists will gather again to elect the Academy's new president and vice-presidents.

Closing the session, President of the USSR Academy of Sciences Guriy Marchuk said he will deliver a report summing up five years of the Academy's work in April.

Investigation Exposes Cesium-137 Security Problem

PM2203123790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 6

[F. Ivanov report under the rubric "From the Courtroom": "Case About Radiation in Mytishchi"]

[Excerpts] Moscow Oblast—Hearings of a case concerning the illegal acquisition, storage, and utilization of radioactive substances, unprecedented in Soviet legal practice, have opened at the people's court in Mytishchi, Moscow Oblast.

In July 1988, during an aerial radiation survey in Mytishchinskiy Rayon, specialists of the Central Expedition of the USSR Ministry of Geology detected a considerable flareup of background radiation near Zhestovo village. With the help of a survey carried out by car and on foot is was revealed that the radiation was coming from the small village pond. The level of radiation on the edge of the pond was up to 500 milliroentgens per hour. A trail of spot contamination traces led toward the woods. By following these traces it was possible to discover a cleverly concealed hiding place under a tree which contained two powerful sources of radioactive emission....

The hideout, which was safely covered up with lead slabs and thus undetectable from the aerial survey, gave reason to believe that this was the work of a person whose knowledge of handling radioactive substances was not based on hearsay. An expert investigation revealed that the sources of radiation were two small drums of standard industrial issue of cesium-137 salt, widely used in the national economy in isotope instruments such as flaw detectors. It also emerged that the unknown person who had built the hiding place had already opened the radiation sources and even used some of the radioactive substances. [passage omitted]

This is a question of a truly unique case. It is worth mentioning that Article 223/2 was introduced into the Criminal Code recently—in spring 1988; and, it seems, opportunely. The suspect's motives and the actual purpose for which the radioactive substances have been used have not been disclosed by the defendant. However, the investigators are familiar with a number of cases in which similar sources were used for various types of criminal actions right up to and including attempted murder.

What is alarming, however, is that the investigation has not managed to establish where and under what circumstances these sources of radiation were misappropriated. Nowadays radioactive materials are increasingly being used in medicine, the construction industry, metallurgy, and the petroleum and gas industry. The investigation has shown that the existing system of storage and disposal of spent materials no longer meets the new requirements, because it provides broad opportunities for unauthorized persons and sometimes even criminals to gain access to them. The trial in Mytishchi may prove to be the first step toward a broad discussion of this problem. We will try to keep readers briefed on its decisions.

Mir Crew Carry Out Semiconductor Work

LD2303111190 Moscow TASS in English 0945 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova:

The first smelts to obtain gallium arsenite, a semiconductor material, have been carried out by means of a gallar installation on board the Soviet Mir obrbital complex.

This work, performed by crew members Anatoliy Solovyov and Aleksandr Balandin, continues the extensive technological programme carried out by the previous crew—Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov. They staged twelve experiments linked with the production of semiconductor materials during their 166-day flight.

These experiments are mainly intended to elaborate the basic processes for semiconductor crystallisation needed to manufacture experimental batches of gallium arsenite, zinc oxide and cadmium sulphide in outer space. These crystals will later be used to make various instruments. According to specialists, principles have been developed for the production of silicon film used in super-large integral schemes.

Equipment, incorporating cadmium sulphide monocrystals, can already been seen in experimental laboratories of the USSR Electronics Ministry, for instance a laser kinescope. The monocrystals were obtained in outer space and there are no terrestrial analogues as regards technical performance.

Specialists believe space technologies to be very promising. They may yield an annual economic effect of 400-800 million rubles.

Yuriy Semyonov, general constructor of the Energia Scientific Production Association, told TASS that "Kristal" technological module was to be launched on April 9. It will be a sort of micro-plant for the production of crystals in outer space.

Military

General Gromov Denies Rumors of Possible Coup

LD2603112890 Moscow World Service in English 0945 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Report on an interview with Lieutenant General Boris Gromov, commander of the Kiev Military District, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondents; date and place not given; from the "Publication of the Day" program, presented by Aleksey Abakumov—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Abakumov] Boris Gromov, commander of the Kiev Military District and former commander of the Soviet troop contingent in Afghanistan, enjoys great authority among the military and a fairly substantial section of civilian society. [passage omitted]

We are living in a time of rumors, the most horrific of which, with the exception of the world coming to an end, is the possibility of a military coup. You are a combat officer, said the correspondent, with deserved authority among the military and, it seems to us, in our society. Strange as it may seem, your name figures in the rumors as a military man capable of heading such a coup.

I've heard this before, said Boris Gromov. I think the spreading of these rumors is not exactly intelligent. I love my homeland and my people no less, and perhaps more, than others. I know the true value of the blood of our soldiers and of any human being. How can there be any question of a coup? Once again, I repeat, this is totally unfounded nonsense, or perhaps it's a policy being pursued by certain circles for whom the Army, in these days of perestroyka, is a thorn in the flesh.

Defense Ministry Announces End of Kiev Exercise

LD2303200990 Moscow TASS in English 1911 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—Follows an official announcement by the Soviet Defence Ministry:

"The operational and tactical exercise of the troops of the Kiev Military District ended on the Ukraine territory on March 23. Troop control and cooperative action between various arms were practiced during the exercise."

"The aims set for the exercise have been attained. The supervisors of the exercise have estimated that it was instructive and contributed to raising field training standards of headquarters and troops."

"Troops taking part in the exercise are returning to their permanent stations."

"The exercise was attended by foreign observers, invited in accordance with the document of the Stockholm conference, from a number of countries that participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe."

1989-1990 Military Budget Examined

PM2203161890 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 11, 18 Mar 90 p 12

[Aleksnadr Konovalov article: "Staking on Quality? How Our Military Budget Is Spent"]

[Text] The publication of the Soviet military budgets for 1989 and 1990 at last provides us with an opportunity to analyze how our new assessements of the scope and character of the foreign military threat, the principles of defence sufficiency, and the priority of qualitative factors in approaches to military development are being put into practice.

Of course, one is impressed by the scope of reductions (by 8.2 per cent compared with 1989), but it is difficult to discuss this figure since the amount of both announced budgets arouses many questions.

However, even this rather scanty information makes it possible to analyze, using comparative figures, the structure of our military budget and the way it is changing.

To compare, we use similar items in the U.S. military budget, not comparing their amount in rubles and dollars but correlating only the share of each component in the total amount of the military budget.

Thus, in the American military budget for the 1990 fiscal year 82.6 billion dollars or 28.3 per cent of its volume was allocated to buy armaments and military hardware. To ensure normal operation of purchased weapons and military equipment it is envisaged to spend 86.8 billion dollars (29.8 per cent). Another 78.5 billion (26.9 per cent) will go towards wages of servicemen who must operate this equipment and ensure its combat readiness. That is to say, having spent 82.6 billion dollars on the purchase of equipment, the U.S. intends to invest in what we call the "maintenance of the army and navy", 165.3 billion dollars or 56.7 per cent of the whole budget. The ratio between the purchasing and maintenance expenses is 1:2.

Now let's look at our military budget of 1989. A total of 32.6 billion rubles or 42.2 per cent of the total volume was spent to buy armaments. In 1989 we didn't know yet how the expenses within the item "maintenance of the Army and Navy" was distributed and what goes to pay servicemen and what on the maintenance and operation of materiel. Both these components were represented by the same sum—20.2 billion rubles or 26.1 per cent of the budget. The ratio between the purchasing and maintenance expenses is 1.6:1, i.e., practically the opposite of what is taking place in the U.S. budget. In 1989 obvious preference wsas given to military purchases, i.e. to the production of already mastered serial military hardware. This doesn't correspond to the proclaimed emphasis on quality as a budgetary priority.

What kind of changes occurred in the structure of our military budget in 1990? Allocations for military purchases make 31 billion rubles or 43.7 per cent of its total amount, i.e., the share of funds spent to buy mass-produced military hardware grew by 1.5 per cent. From an article in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA we learned recently that out of the total sum of 19.3 billion rubles or 27.2 per cent of the total military budget spent on the maintenance of the Army and Navy, 6.8 billion rubles (9.6 per cent) is spent on payment to the personnel, and 12.5 billion rubles (17.6 per cent) on the maintenance and operation of materiel. Besides, the share of experimental research and design work in our military budget for 1990 was reduced from 19.8 to 18.6 per cent.

Thus, the dynamics of our military budget does not confirm the greater stake on qualitive factors proclaimed for our military development. On the contrary, there is direct evidence of an increasing share of military gross output, the purchases of already mastered and mass-produced weapons, and the inexplicable correlation between outlays on the purchase of weapons, and on their maintenance and operation. For the time being, let's leave alone the comparison of payments to personnel. The whole U.S. Army is professional, it gets salaries, whereas in official statistics servicemen apppear as labour costs.

But how to explain that the U.S. spends more on ensuring the operation of purchased weapons than the actual sum spent on purchases, and the Soviet Union 2.5 times less? It looks as if we are still proceeding from the supposition that the higher the heap of accumulated weapons, the more reliably our safety is ensured. Such an approach has deep historical roots. Analyzing the ratio in the basic types of armaments of the Red Army and Wehrmacht not long before the Great Patriotic War, Western historians (we have still to make such an analysis) found out our considerable superiority in the number of weapons. Apart from repressions in the army and incompetent leadership, among the reasons of our defeats was the paralyzing shortage of spares. Hence, many decades ago, from our own historical experience we have paid an exorbitantly high price to learn that the amount of weapons in itself does not guarantee safety.

Unfortunately, the figures of the present Soviet military budget and other facts suggest (inasmuch as accurate information is still not available) that we have so far not made the proper conclusions.

Indeed, the proposals on the reduction of conventional armaments in Europe now being discussed in Vienna envisage that to reach parity we shall have to eliminate from accumulated stocks far more tanks, guns and infantry fighting vehicles (IFVs) than the NATO countries.

According to Soviet official information, Warsaw Treaty countries would have to destroy 39,470 tanks as against 10,690 on the part of NATO. For guns the figures are dingly 47,560 vs 33,060, and IFVs—42,330 and 18,900 units.

It means that we have not only immobilized a considerably large amount of material resources invested in the production of "superfluous" weapons, but shall have to exert considerably more effort for their elimination.

It is possible that those forming the policy of purchases know something unknown to us, and that the above-mentioned figures are erroneous. In that case it would be very useful to get to know their arguments. Otherwise we shall have to admit the need for a structural reform of our military budget to bring it into line with the declared political aims and tasks.

As a beginning, let's try to imagine how our present military budget would look, if it were distributed in the same proportions as the present American budget.

We should spend 20.3 billion rubles on military purchases instead of today's 31 billion, on military experimental research and design work 8.9 billion roubles instead of 13.2 billion, on cash payments to servicemen 19 billion roubles instead of 6.8, and 20.6 billion roubles instead of the present 12.5 billion on the maintenance and operation of materiel. Such a distribution of means looks more rational than the existing system. Of course, such a redistribtuion will possibily not arouse great enthusiasm among those who develop, produce, and purchase weapons. In fact, for each new weapon system or its modification (perhaps, this is one of the reasons why their number is so big in our country) one can count if not on a Lenin, then on a State Prize, and for mastering it—on many orders and medals, whereas for the improvement of the living conditions of servicemen, raising their professional skill one gets only a message of thanks from the command. In fact, the army is created and equipped, above all, to fulfil in the best way the tasks facing it to defend the country, and does not proceed from the socio-economic interests of separate groups of society, no matter how numerous and influential they are.

Baltic Republics

Soviet Intervention in Lithuania Seen as 'Imminent'

LD2503203190 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 2000 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] New reports have come in this evening of an imminent Soviet military intervention in Lithuania. The deputy prime minister of Lithuania, Romualdas Ozolas, has said that he has received clear evidence that the Soviet Army is planning to take over important buildings in the capital, Vilnius. Here is our correspondent in Vilnius.

[Correspondent] Romaldas Ozolas went on to say that he himself has seen 20 trucks full of soldiers landing at Vilnius airport earlier this afternoon. The reports that the military are preparing an intervention, Ozolas said, are coming from soldiers in the Soviet Army, who told him of preparatory units. According to these reports, the Russian Yedinstvo organization, supported by the Russian minority in Lithuania, and which has openly demonstrated against Lithuania's declaration of independence, is planning to try to take over the parliament building, supported by Soviet Army troops. These reports are unconfirmed so far, but they come from the deputy prime minister of Lithuania, Vladislav Savic, in Vilnius.

[Announcer] While these reports of the Soviet Army planning a military intervention are coming in, the situation on the streets of Vilnius is reported calm, and so far none of the Lithuanian soldiers who deserted from the Soviet Army have been arrested.

Troops Seen at Vilnius Airport

AU2503195390 Paris AFP in English 1933 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Vilnius, Lithuania, March 25 (AFP)—The Lithuanian parliament expressed fears of an imminent test of force as Soviet troops were seen at Vilnius airport Sunday evening. Trucks full of Soviet soldiers were at Vilnius airport Sunday evening, Lithuanian Deputy Prime Minister Romualdas Ozolas [spelling as received] told journalists. He did not say whether the troops were surrounding or in front of the airport.

Meanwhile the city enjoyed a precarious calm despite the expiry of a deadline for Lithuanian deserters from the Red Army to return to barracks. Lithuania is under intense pressure from Moscow to withdraw its March 11 declaration of independence.

Mr. Ozolas' statement came amid reports that communist party members still loyal to Moscow despite the Lithuanian party's split from the Soviet party in December, had taken over two party buildings. They were accompanied by about 20 Soviet soldiers armed with Kalashnikov assault rifles, the Lithuanian parliament's press office said in a statement made public in Moscow. An AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE correspondent saw grey-uniformed soldiers posted outside and at the windows of one of the buildings, the party's Institute of Higher Education. Most of the soldiers seemed to be from Central Asia, the correspondent said. The parliament's statement expressed fears of "imminent" Soviet military intervention in Vilnius.

Five tanks rumbled through a residential area in the north of the city overnight, a Vilnius resident said.

A Soviet military helicopter flew over the parliament building here Sunday morning and Western correspondents saw an army truck parked underneath the windows of the parliamentary press office. [passage omitted]

Supreme Council Urges Calm, Order

LD2503223590 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] Edvinas Butkus at the microphone: This evening, at about 1900 [1600 GMT] hours, groups of Soviet Army men armed with machine guns—each group consisting of 20-30 men—occupied public buildings in Vilnius: the House of Political Education and the Higher Party School. The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, which assembled in the evening, adopted a decision to take measures to ensure the normal work of state and public enterprises, organizations, and offices. The resolution states that lately there have been cases in Lithuania when buildings of offices and organizations have been forcibly taken over; people have been urged not to comply with the laws of the Republic of Lithuania and the decisions of the state bodies; and attempts have been made to hamper normal work of state and public enterprises, offices, and organizations, and to provoke conflicts and unrest.

These illegal actions have been carried out by the Soviet Union's Armed Forces, too. Thus the Republic of Lithuania's state sovereignty is lowered, and a threat is created to the people's life and health. The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania resolves that the Lithuanian republican procurator, the minister of internal affairs, and the courts have to take measures to bar the way to anti-state actions and to those of a criminal nature. Criminal proceedings must be instituted against the offenders without delay. The decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Council explains that the articles of the Criminal Code—on the willfull infliction of harm—provide for the responsibility also of persons who organize criminal actions.

The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania urges all the residents of Lithuania to keep calm and observe public order, not give in to provocative incitements, and not to take part in actions that are directed against Lithuania's independence and territorial integrity.

Landsbergis Gives Statement

LD2503235590 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Statement by Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of Lithuania, on 25 March—live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed citizens of Lithuania: Strange things are happening in Vilnius. A group of paratroopers has occupied or helped to occupy several buildings that previously belonged to the Lithuanian Communist Party. Some of them have been handed over to the Council of Ministers and other public organizations or to the Teacher Training Institute. The paratroopers explained that they were occupying the buildings because they belonged to the CPSU.

It would follow from this that a party that is unable to solve problems concerning its property, when splitting and division take place, invites the Army to help solve problems by force. This does not agree with promises to transition to a democratic, multiparty system in which the Army, like the Ministry of Internal Affairs, [words indistinct] depolitized and does not interfere in the affairs of political parties. In this case, we see that, following the old habit, the CPSU makes use of the Army and its armed fist [words indistinct].

Of course, it might be otherwise. Most likely, this is happening because these actions are carried out in order to give more weight to that party, which split from the Lithuanian Communist party, which we call the midnight or platform party. [Words indistinct] the CPSU is, let us say, a local part of a foreign party. Its function is contrary to Lithuania's independence [words indistinct].

If this problem is limited in its entirety to the division of the former party property and the attachment of greater importance—with the aid of bayonets—to that midnight party, there is no need to be concerned. It is compromising itself even more; but there can be a political aim to create [word indistinct], anarchy, [word indistinct], or the impression that the situation in Lithuania is unclear and unstable: Where is the power? Who has power to delay the international recognition of the Republic of Lithuania?

[Passage indistinct] the occupation army has been used more than once. This happened in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, where the Army carried out this function, thereby staining its honor. Maybe this will happen in Lithuania. If this happens, it is not necessary to offer opposition by force; it is not necessary to create the impression that uncontrolled social processes are taking place in Lithuania.

The Army in Lithuania is under the command of the same general who was commanding [word indistinct] in Azerbaijan. Some actions are very similar. Attempts are being made to create the impression that Lithuanians are arming, are forming their armed forces, which could threaten somebody, and that therefore it is essential to disarm the hunters, to remove air rifles from markmanship schools, [word indistinct] may be, to the streets and squares young people [word indistinct] protesting, or even in a militant mood. We must avoid this.

Let the raised [word indistinct] pass us by; let it appear a caricature, [word indistinct], shameful. Let us be calm, tenacious, [word indistinct], and we will be victorious!

Further on Building Seizure

LD2503125190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Today TASS published a "thorough" evaluation of the situation in Lithuania. Apart from constantly repeated assertions that all resolutions adopted by the Supreme Council of Lithuania are illegal and that the USSR Government is endeavoring by every means to protect the rights of people residing in Lithuania, defend the soviet socialist republic, and so on, this supplied yet more disinformation by alleging that various activists have attempted in several places to occupy buildings of the Communist Party with the CPSU platform. Such was the description of the arrival of members of the Committee of Nationalities last Friday at the Vilnius Communist Party committee.

Then what did happen yesterday in the building on Gediminas Prospektas occupied by the Vilnius Communist Party committee? The first secretary of the city comittee of the independent Communist Party, Algirdas Gricius, says that following the reduction of the number of workers at the party city committee, part of the building was handed over to the Committee of Nationalities and the Union of Scientists. The apparatus of the city committee of the CPSU organization had its offices there, too. However, last Thursday one official of the CPSU organization took the second set of keys from all offices. Officials of the independent Communist Party understood that the situation was becoming serious. Yesterday morning they found servicemen of the Vilnius commandant's office, led by a major, and many squad members with red armbands at the building.

According to Algirdas Gricius, he, the first secretary, was allowed into the committee building, but other officials could not enter the building without the permission of Anatoliy Chistyakov, the leader of the CPSU platform workers. Yesterday morning officials of the Committee of Nationalities and the Union of Scientists managed to enter the building, but will they be allowed to enter it on Monday? Algirdas Gricius assesses the seizure of the building as a provocation, an attempt to provoke clashes and unrest in the city.

A similar incident took place yesterday also in the building of the higher party school that has been handed over to the Vilnius Teachers' Training Institute. A CPSU Central Committee official from Moscow who arrived there called a general meeting of the institute workers and stated that the provisional central committee of the CPSU organization in Lithuania was responsible for the further supervision of the institute and its fate. Members of the independent Communist Party, protesting against this action, left the hall. Then this high-ranking official from Moscow stated that the rector of the school, Sigizmundas Simkus, was dismissed from his duties. Valentinas Lazutka was appointed as new rector. His appointment was "blessed" by the signature of the first secretary of the provisional Central Committee, Mykolas Burokevicius, himself.

Conflict Over Vilnius Communist Party Building

LD2303162790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1540 GMT 23 Mar 90

["A Situation of Conflict at the Vilnius City Party Committee"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Mar (TASS)—Contradictory information is being received from the Lithuanian capital concerning events taking place around the Vilnius city committee [gorkom] of the Communist Party of Lithuania. According to some reports, the gorkom building was taken under the control by workers' volunteer squads after staff-members of a state institution attempted to occupy it.

The following announcement has been made on behalf of the Vilnius Gorkom of the Communist Party of Lithuania on the CPSU Platform:

"On 23 March, staff members of the Committee for National Minorities attached to the Council of Ministers appeared at the gorkom building and began to occupy the work places of gorkom functionaries. As a result, the work of the committee was disorganized and the security of party archives and documents was threatened.

It is a matter of indignation that all this was carried out without prior arrangement. None of the members of either the gorkom or the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania on the CPSU Platform were informed of such intentions.

Until the resolution of all issues connected with the common use of party property by the central committees of both Communist Parties of Lithuania, control of the building and the safeguarding of party property and documents are being conducted by functionaries of the gorkom of the Communist Party of Lithuania on the CPSU Platform in conjunction with workers' volunteer squads."

Moscow TV Reviews Stiuation in Lithuania

LD2403211890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Mar 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent] Today in Lithuania we had elections of deputies to local soviets. By tradition I ought now to be uttering a phrase something like this: As soon as the doors leading to the ballot boxes opened at 0800, the voters were pouring in. In fact, at least here in Vilnius, the picture we have seen is somewhat different. Even the leading republican newspapers could not find room to remind their readers that there were elections today. To be totally accurate, TIESA devoted five words to this event.

Nevertheless, the question of who will represent the voters in town, rayon, settlement, and rural soviets is being decided today. We were told at the central electoral commission that more than one-third of the candidates were members of the independent Communist Party of Lithuania [CPL], 14.5 percent were from Sajudis, four percent were members of the CPL on the platform of the CPSU, and the rest were Social Democrats, Democrats, Christian Democrats, and Greens. Most of the candidates—87 percent—are Lithuanians. They are followed by Poles, Russians, Belorussians, and people of other nationalities. And another feature of the social portrait of the candidates: While there were almost no workers or collective farm workers among the candidates to the Supreme Soviet, they constitute respectively 12 and 30 percent in the current elections.

Toward the end of the afternoon we telephoned the chairmen of the electoral commission for Vilnius, Kaunas, and Klaipeda. Approximately two hours before the end of the elections 50 to 60 percent of the total electorate had voted there. This figure was higher in Moletai, Siauliai, and a number of other rural rayons. We shall learn the final results of the Lithuanian elections in the coming days.

The formation of a new government is another important political event in the republic. Deputies to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet today continued their discussion of candidacies to ministerial posts. Some of the 18 ministers have already been confirmed. They include (Rimvadis Yesilavichyus), who will head the Ministry of Industry. In your program which you have set out as a deputy and in response to questions, you said that your course will provide for privatization, that is handing enterprises over into private hands and large enterprises to joint stock companies. Is this so?

[Yesilavichyus] That is so. Wishing our industry to start operating efficiently more quickly, I am providing in my program for issues of denationalization of industry as such.

[Correspondent] Many of these enterprises have the status of union subordination. How can your program be combined with the union subordination of these enterprises?

[Yesilavichyus] My attitude to issues of ownership is very serious and very responsible. I am therefore against any uncontrolled nationalization, seizure, or anything like that and this question must be resolved either through leasing, through talks or through compensation.

[Correspondent] I think that this is further confirmation that Lithuania was in haste when it adopted the decision on 14 March on transferring enterprises under state subordination to the jurisdiction of the Republican government. [video shows polling station, steet scenes, interviewee]

We met Lieutenant Colonel Ogorodnikov of the border troops today at the Lithuanian capital's airport. Vitaliy Ivanovich, which part of the state frontier are you responsible for?

[Ogorodnikov] An individual control and admission point in Vilnius. I am responsible for the admission of persons and transport at Vilnius airport and at the admission point Lazdijai. This is directly on the state frontier between the Soviet Union and Poland.

[Correspondent] Tell me please, what measures have been taken in your line since the well-known decree by the USSR president?

[Ogorodnikov] Well, first of all I must note that the decree by the USSR president was timely. The first laws which were adopted totally disregarded the USSR Constitution including Article 73, which determines protection of sections of the state frontier, as well as the law on the state frontier. Furthermore, the creation of some parallel sub-units, the attempt to create parallel sub-units to protect the frontier and to defend the area, alarmed us. All this gave rise to the need to reinforce the frontier troops and the customs service in safeguarding the admission of persons and citizens, citizens passing through the state frontier.

[Correspondent] What violations have been observed recently and have there been any confiscations?

[Ogorodnikov] Yes, you know there have recently been violations and there have been confiscations, in particular of gas containers and air pistols which were taken from persons crossing the state frontier from Poland. Well, these were produced in West Germany and other Western countries. So all this could be used by fighters, especially since we already know of instances on the republic's territory when such weapons have been used against organs responsible for imposing law and order. The measures we have taken to reinforce the customs service, the border service on the state frontier - using people and equipment—are totally justified and will contribute to the more reliable safeguarding of the protection of state frontiers. [video shows interview to camera, display of aerosols and pistols, views of airport]

Preliminary Results of Lithuanian Elections

LD2503201990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Excerpt] The events in Lithuania are not only attracting our attention, they are also being closely watched abroad. Some people in the West are deliberately escalating the complex situation in the Republic. The situation in the capital of Lithuania today was calm, a TASS correspondent has reported. And this is what our special correpsondents report from Vilnius:

[Correspondent] Reports today have been coming in all day long in a constant stream here to the Supreme Council of Lithuania from various towns and rural rayons of the republic, on how the elections of deputies to local soviets went yesterday. The republican electoral commission has already summed up the results, of course, as yet strictly preliminary. [video shows vote counting, cutting to interview]

[Begin video interview with G.S.Bulotas, head of the secretariat of the republican electoral commission, identified by screen caption] The composition is varied. It has to be said that the Sajudis candidates won in the majority of cases. And if about 72 percent of the electorate took part in the elections for the Supreme Soviet, then the figure is only 60 percent of the whole electorate. [end interview]

[Correspondent] Publication of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LITVA is being resumed in Lithuania. In actual fact a newspaper with this name has been published since July 1940, but a week and a half ago the republican authorities renamed it, and called it EKHO LITVY. Unfortunately, in spite of a promise to respect various points of view and opinions, EKHO LITVY actually became an echo only of the Sajudis standpoint. [passage omitted]

More on Elections

LD2503175190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1500 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Summary] As was expected, the elections to local councils have taken place in a less active manner than the recent election to the republic's Supreme Council. In Vilnius 100 deputies should be elected, but only 56 were elected; in Alytus 51 deputies should be elected, but only 23 were elected. In some constituencies only half of the electors cast their votes. But these are only preliminary results. Final results are still to be summed up.

TASS Describes Lithuania as 'Calm, Peaceful'

LD2503210990 Moscow TASS in English 2103 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] Vilnius March 25 TASS—By TASS correspondent Kazis Uscila:

Vilnius was calm on Sunday. Residents flocked to parks and exhibitions on this not very warm, spring day.

"The capital and the entire republic were calm and peaceful on Sunday, just like in the past few days." Lithuanian Deputy Interior Minister Vaclovas Zabarauskas told TASS:

"A couple of crimes and road accidents were registered. But, on the whole the criminal situation was stable, it hasn't deteriorated, compared to what was one or two months ago," he said.

Some newspapers are providing a biased coverage of events in the republic, he complained, saying that this only worsened the situation.

Lithuanian Deputies Discuss Situation in Vilnius

LD2403200890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1905 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Kazis Uscola]

[Text] Vilnius, 24 Mar—The deputies of the Supreme Council of Lithuania were clearly tired when they gathered for the morning sitting today; having started work yesterday morning, they did not leave the session hall until four in the morning. Six hours later, the chairman called upon them to take their places once again.

Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the republican Supreme Council, was the first to take up the rostrum. Describing the situation in Lithuania, he defined it as follows: The war of nerves and pyschological and political pressure upon Lithuania is continuing.

Landsbergis then acquainted the deputies and all residents of Lithuania—the sitting of the session is being relayed on republican radio—with the contents of a telegram which is a reply to the telegram from USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev. This, in part, says that the information about registration of volunteers looks inaccurate; people are ready if necessary to help keep public order and help control the roads, but there are no formations, and certianly not armed ones, in the Republic. He went on to reiterate that the laws adopted at the session of the Supreme Council of the sovereign Lithuanian Republic are competent [pravomochny] on its territory and binding upon any citizens here.

At night when the deputies were discussing the candidates for future ministers, reports began to come in saying that a convoy of military armored cars was heading toward Vilnius from Jonava. Like the roar of the military helicopters which occasionally fly past and shake the arches of the hall of sessions, this electrifies the mood not only of the population but of the deputies as well. Nor was their mood improved by a report from Romas Gudaitis, USSR people's deputy, on a conversation held the day before with Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, during which, Gudaitis reported, it was said that the Soviet Union is not prepared for talks with Lithuania.

How will events develop in the future? The TASS correspondent spoke to a number of deputies who are not part of the radical majority. Deputy Leonas Jankelevicius, first secretary of the Salcininkai Rayon Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania (on the CPSU Platform), said the majority of his constituents approve of the decision of the Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies but he found it difficult to answer the question as to how to alter things from increasing tension to normalization. A former secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, Lionginas Shepetis, said this: "Both the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania [sovet] and the USSR Supreme Soviet must find a mutually acceptable solution and must think of the points on which there is contact rather than about how to aggravate the situation still further. I think the time has come for simply coming to the negotiating table. The quicker the better. What can be done now that this has happened? There is simply nothing else to be done."

The Supreme Soviet of the Republic has already appointed ten of the 18 ministers. Five of them were members of the previous government. A 42 year old physicist, Algirdas Saudargas, a member of the Christian Democratic Party of Lithuania has been appointed minister of foreign affairs.

Lithuania-Poland Border Traffic Moving 'Normally'

LD2503132190 Hamburg DPA in German 1254 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—In spite of Soviet announcements of restrictions on travel between Poland and Lithuania, cross-border traffic was proceeding normally during the weekend. A representative of the Union of Poles in Lithuania reported in a telephone conversation with DPA from the Lithuanian capital, Vilnius, that he received several visitors from Poland yesterday. However, travellers complained of slow procedures and increased checks. About 270,000 Poles still live in Lithuania. Polish citizens need an invitation for travel to Lithuania. [passage omitted]

Correspondent Reports Lithuanian Situation

LD2603092190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0510 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] [Presenter] We now have an opportunity to link up directly with our correspondent in Vilnius, Elyana Kurkletite. Can you hear me?

[Kurkletite] Yes, good morning.

[Presenter] Good morning. The situation now arising between Vilnius and Moscow is attracting a fair amount of attention, not only in our country but also abroad. Many events go to make up what is happening. What is the latest news; what is the situation in Vilnius now?

[Kurkletite] I will begin with a report on the elections to local soviets, which took place on Saturday, 24 March. While 72 percent of the electorate participated in the elections to the republican Supreme Soviet, only 60 percent took part in the local elections. Political fatigue is clearly taking its toll. In Vilnius, for instance, only 51 out of 100 deputies were elected, while according to the preliminary results only 67 percent of deputies were elected to town soviets. There are rayons—(?Alitus), for example—where a session cannot even be convoked due to a lack of deputies, and where repeat elections will have to be held. This passivity on the part of the electorate is an indication of the mood of public life. A deeper analysis, however, can be made when the final results become known in a day or two.

[Presenter] I know that the republic's Supreme Soviet is now working literally day and night. I even remember a report that the deputies dispersed at four o'clock in the morning, and were already in their seats again at nine or 10. We also know that most of the 18 ministers have been confirmed, and that the State Committee for Television and Radio has been reorganized; it is now called Lithuanian Radio and Television. Is this not so?

[Kurkletite] Yes. The formation of the Republic's government is continuing at the session. Many of the 18 ministers have already been confirmed. Let me mention the following law on the reorganization of the State Committee for Television and Radio.

[Presenter] This is what is interesting, Elyana: Has the orientation of Lithuanian television and radio broadcasts changed recently in connection with this?

[Kurkletite] I would not say so. In addition to the main Lithuanian broadcasts, programs are broadcast in Russian and Polish, as before. Radio programs are heard even in Belorussian, Ukrainian, and Tatar for the national minorities resident in Lithuania.

One of the recent news broadcasts on television showed the tanks that on Friday-Saturday night maneuvered around the streets of Vilnius and outside the building of the republic's Supreme Soviet, where deputies were in session until the morning.

Yesterday the evening television news program showed film of how soldiers occupied the Vilnius Party School. The morning program has just been broadcast; it said that a headquarters for resolution of situations of conflict with the military has been set up. There is thus full glasnost, while the general orientation of many broadcasts is an appeal for calm and endurance. And much attention is being devoted to Lithuania's cultural life in the programs. On Saturday, for example, Lithuanian television showed "A Household Song," staged by the Vilnius Russian Drama Theater. The play was heard in Russian, Belorussian, and Lithuanian, and it was directed by Adam Januszewicz, a director from Poland.

[Presenter] Elyana, I would now like to come back to the decisions being adopted by the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania. The statement by the USSR Government points out that these decisions have been adopted; at least, it states its wish that these decisions should be adopted in strict observance of legislation existing in the Soviet Union today.

[Kurkletite] You know, a republic procurator has been appointed; he was formerly appointed by the USSR procurator. A decision by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic has also been adopted on DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Air Force, and Navy] in Lithuania, which states that this society and the enterprises and organizations subordinate to it are being transferred to the jurisdiction of the Lithuanian Republic.

[Presenter] All in all, this is not a very understandable decision, to be honest, because as I understand it DOSAAF is a centralized kind of organization or department. There is virtually nothing republican about it.

[Kurkletite] You now, [Liudvikas Sabutis], secretary of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic, explained this issue in the following way at a press conference for republic and foreign journalists. Carrying out Moscow's assignment, the DOSAAF organization is recording means of transport, making a list of sporting aircraft and sporting weapons—preparing to hand these over to military units—and is engaging in other unacceptable activity having nothing to do with technical forms of sport. That is the explanation.

[Presenter] Well, that explanation is really more than odd, at least in my view, because DOSAAF is far from being a sporting society. And as far as I remember, the decree by the president of the Soviet Union spoke about the handover of weapons belonging to DOSAAF for safekeeping by military units. So I think it is time to dot the i's here, in a clear and balanced way. Now, what about the fulfillment of this decree by the USSR president, I mean the decree on the surrender of weapons for temporary safekeeping by military subunits?

[Kurkletite] Yes, the surrender of sporting and hunting weapons. Some DOSAAF organizations have already handed them over, but the hunters are in no hurry.

[Presenter] How do you explain that? [laughs]

[Kurkletite] Well, they explain that first of all, it is an encroachment on private property, and second, that psychological pressure is being intensified by this method, while some even consider this a pretext for using force against those who do not hand in their hunting weapons. Some are even joking that the wild boar, of which there are several times more than are needed in Lithuania, and which lay waste the fields of Lithuania, will be free to run wild.

But to be quite serious, there is a kind of particular calm in Lithuania that I would describe as an internally tense calm, because everyone is afraid of provocations that would give grounds for the use of force and imposition of a state of emergency.

[Presenter] Well, reason really does show that calm is needed. It seems to me that the overpunctiliousness of the Lithuanian hunters is not helping to relax the situation.

It is no secret that the decision by the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania on withdrawal from the Soviet Union has given rise to protests from great masses of the republic's population, and from its non-Lithuanian part in particular. As far as I know, they would like to live in a Lithuania that is within the Soviet Union. Today there is a serious issue of these people's guarantees in this case. What can you say on this count?

[Kurkletite] I can only rely on what the Lithuanian authorities are promising. Replying to roughly the same question from a correspondent of the EKHO LITVY newspaper, Vytautis Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania, gave this answer, and I quote. The restoration of Lithuanian statehood will do no harm to citizens of any nationality living in the republic. They enjoy constitutional rights that are equal to those of the Lithuanians.

[Presenter] Well, that is a fairly program-oriented answer; what is needed is for it to be fulfilled in reality. As far as the newspaper EKHO LITVY is concerned, yesterday there was a report that it had reverted to its name of SOVETSKAYA LITVA.

[Kurkletite] No. That is a different newspaper.

[Presenter] Oh, it's a different one. OK. Right. Well, does all of the Russian-speaking population, or non-Lithuanian population, have this attitude to what is happening, or are there some who support the Lithuanian leadership's decision; I mean the abrupt one, on separating from the Soviet Union.

[Kurkletite] There are some who do support it. I have actually spoken to many of them; I have tape recordings. However, so that people will not accuse me of prejudice, I will first mention the Interethnic Coordinating Association of Lithuania, which has sent a letter to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic, which says that the ethnic communities of Lithuania are prepared to move together with the Lithuanian people, and to tackle political and economic issues of the Lithuanian Republic together with them. It goes on to state that the Interethnic Coordinating Association of Lithuania is resolutely against those political forces which, by their declarations, inflame interethnic strife and strive to destabilize the situation in Lithuania. This letter was signed by 21 people, including (Korshukova), chairperson of the Vilnius Russian Culture Society; (Baranovskiy), deputy chairman of the Vilnius section of the Union of Poles of Lithuania; (Minko), chairman of the Belorussian Cultural Society; (Zimmeritz), chairman of the Jewish Cultural Society; and also representatives of many other societies. There are thus various opinions about Lithuania's independence.

That is the review of news from Lithuania for today.

[Presenter] I think that we will return to the situation in Lithuania more than once in later "Panorama" programs. I think it is in the interests of everyone, both Lithuanians and non- Lithuanians, that the tense situation which has arisen due to certain decisions made by the present Lithuanian leadership be surmounted, so to speak, and that specific and normal forms, according with international legal norms, of solving the conflict or dispute which has arisen in this manner, should be implemented. Thanks a lot, Elyana.

Moscow on Army Meeting With Lithuanian Leaders

LD2603082490 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Lithuanian leaders held an emergency meeting on Sunday [25 March] night in parliament building. Three officers representing the commander of the Soviet land forces, General Varennikov, appeared there.

Earlier, Soviet servicemen took over in Vilnius two buildings belonging to the independent Communist Party of Lithuania.

The chairman of Lithuania's parliament, Vytautas Landsbergis, said he was given no guarantees that such actions would not be continued. At the same time, he said, he does not consider military interference likely.

Lithuania's Deputy Interior Minister, Vaclovas Zabarauskas, said that on the whole Sunday passed off peacefully in the republic. In his opinion, some of the mass media are covering the situation in the republic in a rather biased way. The public could get the impression that it is almost the end of the world in Lithuania: and that, said Mr Zabarauskas, does not help settle the complicated situation in the republic.

Landsbergis Meets With Soviet Army Delegation

AU2603072590 Paris AFP in English 0202 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Vilnius, March 26 (AFP)—The war of nerves between the Kremlin and Lithuania heightened Sunday [25 March] as Soviet troops entered and seized two Communist Party buildings in the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius. [passage omitted]

When journalists asked for his own reaction to the latest developments, [Lithuanian President] Mr. [Vytautas] Landsbergis said they might be just "an episode in the war of nerves we're living through." Other possibilities were "an attempt to give more weight to an already discredited political group, or to create the impression that the Lithuanian Government is not in control of the situation, so as to slow down or prevent recognition of the Lithuanian State by other governments."

Seeking to downplay the latest Soviet moves, he said he hesitated to "annoy" President Mikhail Gorbachev with "such minor issues as the occupation of buildings." He expressed confidence in the Soviet leader, saying that as long as "Mr. Gorbachev is in control" of the Soviet Union, any use of armed force against Lithuania was "impossible." He said he doubted that the occupation of the party buildings Sunday had been coordinated by Moscow but instead was the result of "a faction of the (Communist) Party." [passage omitted]

Earlier the Lithuanian Parliament issued a resolution which called the takeover an "unjustifiable" act.

Landsbergis Sees Military Intervention 'Unlikely'

LD2503151190 Hamburg DPA in German 1442 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Moscow/Warsaw (DPA)—Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis has for the first time revealed that he considers military intervention by the Soviet Union in the Baltic republic unlikely.

"This would also have negative consequences for the USSR itself," he said last night on Lithuanian television. [passage omitted]

Lithuanian Premier Kazimiera Prunskiene stated in an interview with the Bonn daily DIE WELT that she sees no reason to change the policy of independence. But it is also certain that there can be no sudden turning away from Moscow: "We will certainly be very closely linked for some years, we can view this as a transitional period. We will coordinate our development programs, will have have treaties...." [passage omitted]

Vilnius Radio Carries Supreme Council 24 Mar

New Ministers Discussed

LD2403103590

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0800 GMT on 24 March begins carrying a live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council in Vilnius.

At 0810 GMT the session resumes its work. Vytautas Landsbergis takes the floor. Landsbergis gives a report on the current situation. He says a telegram was sent to Gorbachev this morning.

At 0817 GMT he reads the text of the telegram, in Russian. Landsbergis then continues his report on the situation in Lithuania.

At 0827 GMT Landsbergis concludes his report.

At 0828 GMT R. Gudaitis reports on his trip to Moscow, where he delivered the response to the decision of the Third Congress of People's Deputies. He says he spoke to Lukyanov.

At 0832 GMT M. Medvedevas makes a report on his trip to Moscow.

At 0835 GMT V. Cepaitis reports on his trip to Poland and his meeting with Polish officials.

At 0838 GMT V. Cepaitis concludes his report.

At 0840 GMT deputies ask Landsbergis what steps he is going to take concerning the fact that Moscow refuses to regard Barauskas as the legally appointed procurator general; this demoralizes those working in the legal system.

At 0842 GMT work on the formation of the government continues. K. Prunskiene proposes new candidates for ministers' posts:

1. Algis Dobrovolskis, born in 1951, Lithuanian, economist, graduate of Vilnius University, is proposed as minister of social security;
2. Vytautas Kudzma as minister of communications;
3. Janina Gagiliene as minister of trade;
4. Darius Kuolis as minister of education and culture;
5. Adastras-Vincentas Sestakauskas as minister of construction and town planning.

At 0846 GMT debates on the first candidacy begin.

At 0855 GMT the session adjourns for 30 minutes.

Construction Minister Approved

LD2403113890

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0930 GMT on 24 March continues its live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius.

At 0930 GMT the deputies discuss the immediate agenda.

At 0940 GMT debate on the candidacy of Algis Dobravolskis is resumed.

At 1010 GMT a vote is taken: 59 for, seven against, and 25 abstained. A quorum was confirmed; by a majority of votes Algis Dobravolskis is appointed minister of construction and town planning.

At 1012 GMT K. Prunskiene proposes Vytautas-Jonas Kudzma, born in 1939, Lithuanian, graduate of Leningrad Institute of Communications, member of the Lithuanian Communist Party. He is currently minister of communications of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic.

At 1030 GMT debate on the candidacy is held. A deputy asks about wire tapping by special services located in the KGB headquarters and on the premises of the telephone exchange stations.

At 1034 GMT, the candidate is questioned. As there are many questions concerning violation of citizens' rights, the relevant select commission requests that the candidate be first discussed at the commission behind closed doors, and only then should the house vote on him.

At 1114 GMT, the session adjourns until 1145 GMT.

Candidate Rejected, Agenda Discussed

LD2403133190

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1145 GMT on 24 March continues its live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius.

At 1145 GMT the session resumes work. The Citizens' Commission makes a statement declaring that members of the commission did not support the Kudzma candidacy under discussion. Among other reasons given for this is that the candidate did not show willingness to be frank and open with the deputies about the KGB activities taking place in the communications system.

When the vote is taken it appears that only a minority of deputies support the candidate. Kudzma is not appointed minister.

At 1200 GMT Vytautas Landsbergis speaks about the need to include new items on the agenda: a statement on KGB workers and informers, and a law on anti-state crimes.

At 1235 GMT Landsbergis presents the text of the statement on KGB workers, urging them to end their collaboration. The government of the republic guarantees that their names will not be revealed. They should inform the government of this republic about their decision by 25 March.

Following this, debates took place until 1249 GMT. Many deputies found the wording of the text inadequate. It is proposed to edit the text by an editing commission that would present the text of the statement at the next session.

At 1249 GMT Arturas Paulauskas, procurator, makes a statement.

At 1253 GMT the immediate agenda is discussed. It is decided to hold the next session on Monday 26 March at 1000 GMT. Session adjourns until this date.

Landsbergis Reads Telegram Sent to Gorbachev

LD2403141690 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0817 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Speech by Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, at the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live relay]

[Text] It is with regret that we state that the political and psychological pressure on Lithuania is continuing.

This morning a telegram was sent to USSR President Gorbachev in compliance with his request expressed the day before yesterday. We saw that misinformation, which perhaps is coming from Vilnius and interested political parties, could be traced in the request. This concerns young men who argree to render help on a voluntary basis in maintaining public order, or if a sudden need arises, take over the duties of some border military units or help in carrying out the functions of guarding the prisons if suddenly the Soviet Armed Forces ceased carrying out these functions or start doing something without first consulting the government of Lithuania. With this in mind, registration of men who wished to render this support was started. We hear today that in Moscow this has caused concern: It is believed that Lithuania is in the process of setting up her own armed forces. Therefore, the telegram which I have already sent, which I wrote yesterday between sessions and finished last night, first of all answers this question. I think I'd better read it to you. I have not yet translated this into Lithuanian; perhaps you will allow me to read it in the language of the USSR president:

[Reads in Russian] Esteemed President,

With reference to your request, I inform you that the information about volunteers seems inaccurate and unreliable. People who are willing, if such need arises, to help preserve public order and control over the roads are being registerd. No formations of this type, the more so armed ones, exist in this Republic. There is nothing here to justify the tanks which are now approaching the capital of the Republic. The tension is increased by the demonstration of military force, and the kidnapping of people by Soviet servicemen.

In its turn, the laws being adopted at the session of the Supreme Council of the sovereign Republic of Lithuania are indisputably valid on her territory and binding on any citizen on this territory. This means that anyone disobeying the laws of the Republic of Lithuania push people in vain to take the role of aliens [chuzhak] and to sow discord.

And you certainly know that we are stretching out our hand to them, we offer them Lithuanian citizenship, preserving their jobs and social security. You also know that we are armed only with one weapon, which is, however, the most important, and that is trust in our rightness, and the value of freedom and democracy.

Hoping for mutual understanding, [reverts to Lithuanian] and this is followed by my signature.

Supreme Council Appeals to Ministry Workers

LD2403121890 Moscow World Service in Russian 1030 GMT 24 Mar 90

[From the "Soviet Chronicle" feature of the "Soviet Union by Day" program: report attributed to INTERFAX]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic, an INTERFAX correspondent reports, has adopted an address to Internal Affairs Ministry [MVD] employees. In it is stated in particular: We have revived an independent Lithuania. Its foundations are the ideals of justice, freedom, democracy, and the good of the people. One of the pledges for their implementation and the viability of the state is the militia and an ordered system for maintaining public order. Every citizen of the republic, irrespective of his nationality or outlook, who has experience in this work and who is ready to swear allegiance to Lithuania and to serve the country, is very necessary to the state.

It is further stated in the address that militia employees are provided with a fixed wage and keep all of the social guarantees of Internal Affairs employees. It is also stressed in the address, the INTERFAX correspondent continues, that the most important duty of militia employees is loyalty to the Lithuanian Republic, its people, laws, and the preservation of public order and citizens' rights.

Lithuanian Council Debates Ministerial Posts

LD2503114190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Excerpts] In continuing the formation of the government, only one minister was confirmed today. Algis Dobrovolskas was confirmed in the post of minister of social security. He is member of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

Last night, to the astonishment of many observers, Algirdas Saudargas was confirmed in the post of minister of foreign affairs. He is 44, a Kaunas resident, a geophysicist, and member of the Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party. [passage omitted] It emerged during questions and answers at the session that one present minister lives in a one-room apartment with his family and four children.

However, a long and conflicting discussion prevented Vytautas Kuzma from being appointed to the post of minister of communications. [passage omitted] His replies to questions raised by the deputies about the participation of the communications system in the security organs' checks on correspondence and tapping of telephone conversations sounded irresolute and unconvincing. Premier Prunskiene proposed that a closed sesson be held to solve these problems, but the Supreme Council did not agree.

Landsbergis Sends Protest Message to Lukyanov

LD2403014990 Vilnius International Service in English 2300 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Yesterday, [23 March] Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council Vytautas Landsbergis sent a message to Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Anatoliy Lukyanov. The government and the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, says the message, expresses a protest against the decision on the international and internal status of the Lithuanian Republic made by the Third Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR on 15 March this year.

The Republic of Lithuania especially protests against referring to Lithuania as a republic of the USSR. The Republic of Lithuania had been universally recognized as a member of the League of Nations prior to its occupation in June 1940 by the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union. The Lithuanian government notifies the Supreme Soviet of the USSR that according to the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, as well as by the principles of international law, Article 13 of the Universal Human Rights Declaration included, all citizens of Lithuania have the right to leave and return to Lithuania whenever they will.

Foreign Ministry Restricts Travel to Lithuania

LD2403181290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1740 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, 24 Mar (TASS)—In connection with the aggravation of the situation in the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs has suggested that foreign diplomats who are on the Republic's territory should leave and that foreign correspondents should temporarily refrain from making trips to Lithuania.

Soviet diplomatic and consular missions abroad have been given instructions for the introduction of a permit procedure for foreigners' entry to Lithuanian SSR territory. This measure is intended to stop access to that Union republic to persons "inclined to illegal activities."

The Polish Foreign Ministry has been informed of the temporary suspension of the "simplified non-visa procedure" for crossing the Soviet-Polish border for residents of Poland and Lithuania. Furthermore, the issuing of multiple re-entry visas to foreigners has been suspended.

A spokesman for the Foreign Minisry stressed that the consular measures being introduced would be implemented in close interaction with other competent organs and departments of the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR.

In fulfillment of the decree by the USSR president, control by border troops over entry and exit by USSR citizens on sections of the USSR border that pass through territory of the Lithuanian SSR has been intensified.

Combat firearms confiscated from organizations have been handed over to units of the Soviet Army.

AFP Reports 1,000 Soldiers Desert Soviet Army

AU2403165190 Paris AFP in English 1438 GMT 24 Mar 90

[By Sylvie Lanteaume]

[Excerpts] Vilnius, March 24 (AFP)—Lithuanians were confident Saturday that the showdown with Moscow over the Baltic republic's declaration of independence would be peacefully resolved despite the appearance of Soviet tanks in the streets of the capital overnight.

Deputies at work in the Lithuanian parliament building here were informed of the troop movements about midnight and stayed on until early Saturday to watch the tanks pass by. "They will be here within five minutes," Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimira Prunskiene told Western correspondents before leaving the parliament building to watch the drive-by of more than 100 tanks and armoured personnel carriers. "This is it. Tanks have entered Vilnius," Lithuanian leader Vytautas Landsbergis said as the convoy passed by about 100 metres (yards) from parliament and headed towards an army barracks north of the city.

According to the Lithuanian parliament's press office, 59 tanks and about 50 personnel carriers with 1,500 to 2,000 soldiers equipped with automatic firearms passed through the city center Saturday at 3:00 a.m (0100 GMT). Moscow's war of nerves and muscle-flexing continued later in the day when a another convoy of 15 apparently empty military trucks drove by.

"We will not forget (last night's) session for a long time. We really sensed that we were an occupied country," Mr. Landsbergis said as parliamentary work resumed early Saturday. "Unfortunately, the war of nerves and psychological pressure continues," he added.

In spite of the tension and the successive show of force by the Soviet Army the situation in Lithuania's capital was calm Saturday and business seemed as usual. Coffeehouses were crowded, flower vendors were displaying carnations and do-it-yourselfers were cramming tool shops. [passage omitted]

Mr. Landsbergis asked Lithuanian soldiers who defected from Soviet barracks to come out of hiding with neighbours or friends and group "in churches because Lithuanian authorities cannot protect them." About 1,000 Lithuanian soldiers have reportedly deserted the Army. Nineteen have found refuge with the Lithuanian Red Cross at a psychiatric hospital here.

Mr. Landsbergis told Western reporters here that "the situation is still dangerous" in the Baltic republic, which declared its independence on March 11.

Uncertainty Faces Lithuanian Deserters

LD2403180890 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1545 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] First to Lithuania. At midnight the hunt will begin for those Lithuanian soldiers who have deserted from the Soviet Red Army. If the soldiers do not voluntarily report to their units, they can expect imprisonment. Our correspondent has met some of the deserters.

[Begin recording] We do not want to serve in a foreign army, an army of occupation. Would you like to serve in one?—asks one of these 20-year-olds that I meet in a hospital in New Vilnius, a suburb of Vilnius. They have got their own room in a section for mental patients; the Red Cross is protecting them. They are crammed into a small, shabby room of about 30 square meters, with 16 beds. All over Lithuania now, hundreds of young Lithuanians are in hiding; some speak of thousands. They have left the Red Army, the army of occuaption, as they call it. Within a few hours they have to go to their regiments, but none of the 26 young men living here plans to return. I ask what will happen at midnight, if they are taken away against their will. I don't think they will come to fetch us. It would not be humane. Besides, they cannot go against the Red Cross, say these Lithuanians. But they look uncertain. Instead, they say, the KGB has been watching them all the time. A few days ago one of the deserters was taken on the open street by three men, according to Sajudis, the Popular Front. What happened to the abducted soldier no one knows today. Today, furthermore, the newly elected president of Lithuania, Vytautas Landsbergis, declared that the Lithuanian state cannot guarantee their safetty, and urged the deserters to seek refuge in churches. But these young men say they understand President Landsbergis.

He has no guarantees of his own safety, says a young former soldier in the Federal Army, who now risks five years' imprisonment. Vladislav Savic, Vilnius. [end recording]

Lithuania Said To Aid Deserters, Draft Dodgers

PM2403212190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Mar 90 First Edition p 3

[Special correspondent Captain Third Rank V. Yermolin report: "Lithuania: Decisions and Protests"]

[Text] Toward the end of the week the Lithuanian parliament was working what is described as "round-the-clock." The cabinet of ministers is being formed at an unprecedented pace. This is happening on the initiative of the chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet, V. Landsbergis. He believes: The sooner we have a government, the sooner "we will win recognition in the world." Landsbergis has even declared: The first country to recognize the Lithuanian Republic will be rewarded with a plan for its embassy building.

So far even this tempting prize has not produced a line of ambassadors waiting at the doors of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, eager to present their credentials. So that the chairman, presenting his latest political review at Friday's session, was forced once again to share with the deputies the news from across the ocean. One piece of news was this: The U.S. Senate has declined a proposal to recognize the Lithuanian Republic.

Landsbergis also recounted the cases of Lithuanian servicemen who have left their units and arrived in Vilnius and had been detained and delivered to the garrison military commander's office. In his opinion, this is unjustified.

On the same day I called at the guardhouse of the Vilnius Garrison. That is indeed where Privates V. Lyutas and P. Yutsikas, who had been temporarily detained, were being kept. Both of them were serving in Gomel Oblast. After learning of the decision of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, they told me, they decided that it was necessary to return home.

A militia detail detained them at the bus station and brought them to the military commandant's office. In the near future they will be sent back to their place of service, where disciplinary punishment will be meted out. Thus the servicemen are having to pay for the irresponsible decisions of the "men of state."

Unfortunately, the cited example is uncharacteristic of the Republic in the sense that the organs of the Lithuanian MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] have stopped assisting the organs of military justice in maintaining the rule of law. I was told this by Colonel of Justice V. Kupets, military prosecutor of the Baltic Military District. The republic MVD is openly conniving deserters and draft dodgers. It appears that, in return for all these "services," the former minister of internal affairs has managed to retain his post in the new government composition. Incidentally, only very few have managed in this.

Friday evening [23 March] the chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet received Colonel General N. Kotlovtsev, USSR people's deputy and chairman of the DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy] Central Committee; Lieutenant General of Aviation S. Maslov, deputy chairman of the DOSAAF Central Committee; and Major General G. Taurinskas, chairman of the republic DOSAAF. A protest was lodged with Landsbergis. The protest notes in particular that the decision of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet to transfer the republic DOSAAF organization to the jurisdiction of the Lithuanian Council of Ministers "is tantamount to the suspension of the activities of the republic's defense organization."

Col. Gen. Kotlovtsev described the meeting as useful and as inspiring "a certain amount of hope."

Vilnius Radio Announces Army Deserters Safe

LD2503094390 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] And now about the fate of young people who have left the Soviet Army and returned to Lithuania: We can inform those whose sons are sheltered by the Red Cross that they are today all alive, well, and in their places.

Deputies' Visit to Lithuanian Obstructed

LD2403153790 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0832 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Speech by Deputy Nikolajus Medvedevas at the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live relay]

[Excerpt] I also returned from Moscow last night.

Democratically inclined double deputies [deputies to both the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies]—they are Russian deputies and also the USSR deputies—they wanted very much to visit Lithuania. Therefore the issue was raised yesterday to set up a certain delegation and to establish some contacts. However, both Nishanov and Primakov did everything possible to prevent these deputies from arriving in Lithuania semi-officially. Therefore, they will come here on an unofficial visit.

I would like very much to give them a kind reception here. [words indistinct] and other deputies, including Bobrikov from Kaliningrad, [words indistinct]. They will probably arrive on Wednesday. [passage omitted]

Formation of Lithuanian National Guard Viewed

LD2403190190 Vilnius International Service in English 2300 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Yesterday the Soviet President Mr. Gorbachev sent a telegram to Mr. Vytautas Landsbergis, the chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, demanding to put a halt to the formation of a Lithuanian voluntary national guard. A day earlier the Soviet president issued his first decree ordering the handing in of all firearms in Lithuania. This can be interpreted as follows: The Kremlin fears that hunting guns can be used by Lithuanian volunteers in the fight for Lithuania's freedom.

But speaking seriously, Radio Vilnius reporter Juozas Kavolis filed the report about the formation of a Lithuanian National Guard prior to Mikhail Gorbachev's telegram of warning.

[Begin Kavolis recording] Until several days ago the word "savanoris", or volunteer in English, had an aura of nationalist pride and heroism here in Lithuania. Following the declaration of independence on 16 February 1918, quite a large number of volunteers gave their lives for the cause of independence. Initially the Lithuanian government thought that the recruiting of volunteers would supplement the activities of the police and the border guards. Nobody dared to dream at that time that Lithuania, which was eager to build its own economy, would be attacked by a foreign force. Regrettably, however, that very same year Lithuania was forced to draw up its own disciplined army to war off the Bolshevik invasion. The Lithuanian Army, formed basically of volunteers and very few trained military men, were destined to fight against the attacks launched by the Red Army, the retreating Russian and German units of the First World War, and later by Poles who occupied the Vilnius region. [end recording]

In the Sajudis headquarters there is a line of men of various age standing in front of the door with the notice reading "registration of volunteers". So if you're a male from 19 to 40 years of age, as the advertisement reads, join the Lithuanian Voluntary National Guard.

[Begin recording] [unidentified male in Lithuanian, fading into English translation] This fourth-year student of economics at Vilnius University has just filled in his registration form. Asked whether he finds a link between the volunteers of 1918 and himself the student nods yes, and says at that time the Lithuanian state was in the process of formation, while today it is being reestablished. One of the main characteristics of a state is the presence of an army, thus it is quite understandable that the registration of volunteers is taking place now, the student finishes. [end recording]

Nearly all the registered volunteers have served in the Soviet Army, which does not and never did enjoy a good reputation in Lithuania. Yet there is a strong sentiment, especially among younger people, to go and defend if need be Lithuania's independence. The creation of a voluntary national guard, however, does not have anything in common with the formation of an army.

This is what (Arturas Kucas), one of the Sajudis initiators, now the coordinator of the Lithuanian National Guard, said: [begin (Kucas) recording in Lithuanian, fading into English translation] The registration of volunteers reminds me more of an opinion poll. We have already made our own calculations how many people we would need for the protection of the frontiers. If an adequate number of volunteers come forth maybe we'll even manage to form paid units based on a voluntary principle. [end recording]

It has been officially announced that Lithuania needs 5,500 volunteers. Of them 3,500 would be used for the defence of the frontiers; 1,000 would be employed as prison guards; and the remaining 1,000 would help to maintain public order. Will these volunteers be armed is a question that causes Moscow the biggest headache, simultaneously being a source of curiosity for people in Lithuania too.

[Begin (Kucas) recording in Lithuanian, fading into English translation] As soon as we gain full independence it will undoubtedly become necessary to arm all the volunteers. In other words they will develop into normal military units of a normal state. Of course they might even later become a small army to protect the frontiers and to maintain public order. At the present moment, however, the national voluntary guard would help the militia and border guards in fulfilling their duties. Thus they do not need any arms. [end recording]

Democracy Seen Under Fire in Lithuania

PM2303123790 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 23 Mar 90 p 3

[Nikolay Lashkevich "Publicist's Notes": "On What Does Independence Depend?"]

[Text] Vilnius—Many people in Lithuania, including deputies of the Lithuanian parliament, gives this reply to the question in the headline: on the position of the USSR. That is, on the position—I will emphasize—of the state which all official documents here now call none other than "foreign." These are the arguments: If the USSR recognizes Lithuania's independence as a result of talks, similar recognition by other states will follow at once. Particularly by those that have always considered Lithuania's incorporation in the USSR unlawful and described it as annexation. However, few people have found time to learn the opinion of the state which in an instant became "foreign" on the declaration of independence. A fait accompli was simply presented—period.

The talk of achieving independence in a lengthy process of restoring the sovereign state's political and economic structures has sunk into oblivion. A stroke of the deputies' pen has removed all the other "dependences" on which—may I be forgiven such a pun—real independence depends. It is as though the 50 years of cohabitation in the union, with all the established realities to which M.S. Gorbachev pointed just two months ago during his stay in Lithuania, did not exist.

Permanent commissions of the republic Supreme Soviet and the cabinet of ministers are intensively being formed. The prime minister of the Lithuanian Republic has already been appointed—K. Prunskiene. Two deputies have been approved—A. Brazauskas and R. Ozolas. The question of Lithuania's borders is being actively debated. The Council of Ministers has been instructed to begin preparatory work on equipping the Republic's borders with frontier markers. At "Sajudis" headquarters the registration of volunteers to guard Lithuania's borders is already taking place. And once again little account is being taken of the "eastern neighbor's" possible reaction. We will set up posts to mark the border and will post Lithuanian border guards dressed in an appropriate uniform, which we have already begun making—and that is all there is to it.

A whole number of measures now being taken by the Lithuanian parliament—be it the setting up of frontier posts, the establishment of customs posts, or the repeal of the USSR laws on compulsory military service, the termination of the work of military commissariats, or the transfer of Union enterprises to republic subordination—all this directly affects the USSR's sphere of interests. In my view, a paradoxical situation is taking shape. While energetically inviting the USSR Council of Ministers to talks, the leaders here are taking preventive steps which cast doubt on the very possibility of talks. The owner of a peasant farmstead, you can be sure, will never erect a fence on his plot of land without asking his neighbor's opinion... But here—by all means.

Are not the Lithuanian parliamentarians making a big strategic mistake by adopting such hasty decisions? It is one thing to juridically consolidate independence, having shaken off from one's "state shoulders" many commitments to the USSR of a political, economic, and military nature. It is quite another matter to actually possess this independence.

Does a clear, well-reasoned forecast of the possible consequences exist in Lithuania? Who in the republic today can tell the people quite clearly what will happen now? Who will give the world community a guarantee that Lithuania will take their opinion into account, if the newborn state is even now not taking very much account of the USSR—the country which began perestroyka and has made the world believe in the irreversibility of changes? The country which in the future could act as the guarantor of Lithuania's democratic conduct in the international arena and could allay the West's certain doubts about Lithuania's possible upsetting of the existing postwar political balance?

No, in principle Lithuania's secession from the USSR is certainly no tragedy, as people in the country are frequently inclined to interpret it, particularly as such an outcome is proposed in the USSR Constitution, which confirms the union republic's sacred right to self-determination. And if the referendum conducted in the Republic attests to such an expression of the people's will, well, it's a free world, as the saying goes. But why such haste in the actions of Lithuania's parliament? Why is absolutely no account taken of the prospect of developing the USSR, which actively demonstrates to the world its desire to build a truly democratic, humane society?

Yes, Lithuania has sad and tragic experience. But there is also experience of perestroyka, experience of society's democratic renewal. Surely there is confidence that the Union will not slip back onto its former "steel" rails? What is the source of these fabrications that the introduction of presidential rule in the country would close all roads leading to sovereignty? For there was the constitutional possibility of fighting for a union treaty which would in no way have limited the republic's sovereign rights. Why did they reject that possibility outright?

It turns out that suspicion and lack of faith in their neighbor's good intentions gained the upper hand. But you cannot build grand politics on such qualities in political leaders, which will willy-nilly be manifested in talks if these talks do in fact take place.

The acquisition and development of real independence depends not only on the "external factor"—the position of the USSR, with which far from friendly relations are now taking shape—but also on an internal one: their own actions. This is what is of concern right now in this connection. Will the rights and freedoms of citizens in an independent Lithuania be observed?—independence is, alas, not a panacea against the violation of democracy under conditions when there is manifest pressure on the mass media. For precisely these have recently served as reliable defenders of these rights and freedoms.

In the very first days of the republic Supreme Soviet's work a group of deputies suddenly decided to remove the leader of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting—D. Shnyukas, chairman of the Lithuanian Journalists Union—and advanced the alternative candidacy of... A. Kaushpedas, former leader of the "Antis" rock group and an architect by training. The television "coup" failed. But it resulted in the creation of a special commission of parliamentarians on questions of reorganizing the activity of Lithuanian television and radio.

It is no wonder that such interference alarmed the republic's journalists. No idle fear. Let us recall that Leningrad television's relay of the Sunday rally organized by the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU Platform), "Unity," and other public organizations was interrupted in Lithuania. Strange logic: The Saturday rally organized in support of the republic Supreme Soviet's decisions does not "fan interethnic dissension," while the second one, so it turns out, fuels tension? I personally was also sickened by certain statements by the organizers, who threatened to punish the "separatists" and made free use of the word "fascism." But just as unacceptable to me is the word "occupier" which roams the television channels. However, does this mean that it is necessary to filter information, to prohibit, to close down, not to permit? Monopolistic claims to the truth are still tenacious among us, and we are so drawn to monologues...

Certain Lithuanian deputies already dislike central television. This resembles the recent times when the voice from beyond the "knoll" tried its best to make its way through to us, while we bashfully concealed it in artificially created noise and crackling. Meanwhile, according to the data of the Gallup Institute, which conducted sociological research in Lithuania, approximately 70 percent of those polled trust the press. So journalists in an independent Lithuania will hardly agree so easily to the role of representatives of the second oldest profession, which attempts are being made to impose on them.

A quite recent fact also attests that there is a danger that human rights and freedoms will be violated. The Republic's government has adopted an appeal, from which I will venture to cite a quotation: "The government urges Lithuania's inhabitants not to participate in actions directed against the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet's resolutions and the government's decisions. Those who disagree with them place themselves outside Lithuania's civil society and lose protection against negative legal, economic, and social consequences." I will state frankly that it is a highly ambiguous appeal. They will either jail people for dissidence (the legal aspect), or dismiss them from work (economic), or deny a child a kindergarten place (social)... What does "outside civil society" mean? How are we to understand "lose protection"? If someone states out loud his nonacceptance of some decisions of the republic Supreme Soviet, will he really at once be punished and find himself—who knows?—within a framework of iron rods: "behind bars," in common parlance? The parliamentary lesson in democracy is strange, to say the least. Not that it is new. All dissidents have already been through it in the past, including many Lithuanians, who in their own destiny grasped the Stalinist truth that whoever is not with us is against us.

An action group was recently registered in Shyaulyay. It is collecting signatures for a referendum to be held on the introduction of presidential rule in Lithuania. The question of another referendum is still on the agenda too—should Lithuania be part of a renewed union or not?

True, for the time being they prefer not to speak out loud about it. Why? Are they really afraid that the people will come out against independence? If there are such doubts, then why announce secession from the USSR without having obtained the people's full-weight mandate? If there were such a thing, it would serve as a very weighty argument for that "foreign" state in the matter of recognizing independence.

Consequently, the acquisition of genuine independence depends on the extent to which the people support this idea. But the present composition of the Supreme Soviet does not possess such a full-weight mandate. Is this not why it is so difficult to decide on a referendum? What tactical move will the parliamentary majority, which adheres to the "Sajudis" platform, make this time? It spent a long time maneuvering, participating in the elections of USSR people's deputies and in the adoption of a number of union laws in the country's Supreme Soviet, but now it is cutting off these same deputies' powers and laws at a stroke. Everything that was valid previously is invalid today, they say. Such a zigzag policy will hardly increase "Sajudis'" prestige in the eyes of the future partner, which is what the USSR is seen as. Including in possible talks. Where are the guarantees that one thing is said today, but tomorrow, after a debate in parliament, they will not say something different? And people's lives and destinies are cut off... Whither are we hurrying?

Military Paper Views Landsbergis 'Dictatorship'

PM2303185390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Mar 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent Captain Third Rank V. Yermolin: "Who Is Fueling Passions"]

[Text] Again, for the umpteenth time, a speech by Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Chairman V. Landsbergis has gotten the Republic, eyes riveted to the television screen, worked up. Landsbergis described the decision by the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the documents of the USSR Government, and the Soviet president's decree "On additional measures to safeguard the rights of Soviet citizens and protect the sovereignty of the USSR on the territory of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]" as preparation for armed force. The deputies were immediately presented with the draft of another (how many is that?) appeal. This time to the peoples, governments, and people of good will all over the world. The "peoples of the world" are told to immediately protest against the use of force against free Lithuania and save it from the mortal threat "from the East."

Like everything else Landsbergis has proposed of late, the document was approved by parliament without any critical appraisal. While making such panic statements, the republic's Supreme Soviet chairman calls for calm and asks people not to fuel passions. Talking about the Soviet Union—and this is mentioned by many of my colleagues working at the session—Landsbergis for some reason invariably adopts an arrogant, sometimes even ironical tone. I must say that none of the deputies is in a hurry to imitate his leader.

The severe criticism of Major General G. Taurinskas, chairman of the republic's Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy [DOSAAF], can be seen as a reaction to the USSR president's decree which directs all owners of firearms to surrender them to internal affairs organs for temporary storage. He had "wronged" the Republic's parliament, while carrying out the center's instructions, by handing over to military units for storage all the firearms and some equipment that did not belong to the voluntary society. In the prevailing situation this is not an unnecessary precaution, but the deputies considered all the explanations to be unconvincing and are intending to deprive the general of his post because of his links with the Soviet Union. For the moment it has been decided to place DOSAAF under the charge of the republic's Council of Ministers.

If one judges by what the deputies of the Republic's parliament ask of aspirants to high office, it is not so much their professional qualities that are assessed as their residual rally ardor and the extent of their devotion to the idea of independence. Thus, guided by precisely these considerations and the will of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, Lithuania's parliament has promptly replaced one republic prosecutor with another. The young prosecutor, who replaced the old one, won over everyone by his determination "to put in its place" a group of specialists from the USSR Prosecutor's Office which was arriving to carry out a check.

The local press has published a republic news agency statement which says, in particular, that "the government urges the inhabitants of Lithiuania not to take part in actions aimed against republic Supreme Soviet resolutions and government decisions. People who disagree with them place themselves beyond the bounds of citizens of Lithuanian society and render themselves unprotected from adverse legal, economic, and social consequences." After such an unambiguous hint not everyone will risk talking aloud about Union laws in an approving way, let alone abide by them. Say what you like, the dictatorship of the Lithuanian parliament grows bolder by the day.

Army General Views Sajudis 'Dictatorship'

PM2503005190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Mar 90 Second Edition p 1

[Interview with Army General V. Varennikov, commander in chief of the Ground Forces, by special correspondent S. Shevtsov; precise location, date of interview not specified, under the rubric "Our Correspondent Reports From Lithuania": "Threat to Democracy"]

[Text] [Shevtsov] Valentin Ivanovich, you have now spent several days in Lithuania. How do you see the situation in the republic?

[Varennikov] It is complex. The rally attended by almost 200,000 people in Vilnius 18 March has shown that by no means all the people in Lithuania agree with the policy of the current leadership of the republic; people are outraged by many of the steps it has taken, by many breaches of the law. This is fraught with a great danger—it is possible for confrontation and clashes to build up. We already have plenty of sad experiences. In what do I see the danger? The current leadership of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] is "legitimating" decisions which run counter to the Soviet Constitution, it is encouraging desertion from the Army by Lithuanian nationals, and it is setting up its own units.

The population is in possession of quite a number of weapons. The republic Supreme Soviet is instructing people not to surrender these weapons. And certain officials have advised Major General G. Taurinskas, chairman of the republic DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy] at a session of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet that he buy toy weapons in a store and surrender them in order "to shut Moscow up."

There is talk about the adoption of a law under which dissidents, that is, those who criticize the present government, will be judged. This is so-called democracy "Sajudis"-style. Everything that the supporters of "Sajudis" were militating against at the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies they are now introducing at home, only in a more categorical, rigid form. Yesterday I met workers from the Vilnius radio-measuring instrument plant. They are convinced: " 'Sajudis' is trying to set up a real dictatorship in the republic."

I have had several other meetings with the public. Everywhere the working people asked me to let the country's Supreme Soviet and the president know that they are expecting consistent actions from the center, and demand that order be established and that their rights and freedoms be guaranteed. I was able to see for myself once again that there are forces in the city and the Republic which are devoted to our common cause and which are concerned for the fate of our Union.

Please note that among them are people of the most varied nationalities. Lithuania's healthy forces are a powerful movement. But they are having a hard time at the moment. After all, "Sajudis" has literally seized all the mass media, it is waging overt psychological warfare against people who do not share its views, and it is trying to morally assassinate the leaders of the Communist Party on the CPSU plaform. In conditions of this kind of "democracy" many people are intimidated. And when the law which bans criticism of the government is adopted, arrests can be expected...

[Shevtsov] Of communists on the CPSU platform?

[Varennikov] In my opinion, of all communists. The party has already been broken up, all that remains is to dispatch the communists to camps or prisons. We happen to know that certain members of "Sajudis" are hatching plans for an amnesty with the aim of making room in the camps so as to be able to dispatch dissidents there.

Something else is also worrying us. This was also mentioned in the presidential decree. There are many foreigners in the Republic who are behaving as if they are in charge. They have formed a tight circle around V. Landsbergis and act as his advisers. The Western visitors are behaving outrageously, flouting the norms of international law and the laws of the country on whose territory they are.

[Shevtsov] You have said that the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet is encouraging the unauthorized departure from military units of servicemen of Lithuanian nationality. How many deserters have been registered to date?

[Varennikov] According to our data, some 200 servicemen of Lithuanian nationality have deserted from units in the Baltic Military District.

[Shevtsov] The deadline after which servicemen who have not returned to their units will be called to account expires today. However, the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet is issuing deserters with so-called "letters of safe conduct."

[Varennikov] Formally speaking, all deserters should be tried. However, we will, of course, take into account the complexity of the situation in which they have found themselves. It is necessary to give individual attention to every serviceman and to convince them to continue their service. During my encounters with people I was asked: Why should criminal proceedings be instituted against boys who acted on the instructions of the republic authorities, while nothing happens to those who issued these instructions in contravention of the Soviet Constitution? I must admit that I do not know how to answer this question.

[Shevtsov] What will the spring draft be like in Lithuania, in your opinion?

[Varennikov] Recently I had a meeting with all military commissars in Lithuania. They are working hard and will continue to work hard to ensure that the draft takes its normal course. However, there are bound to be difficulties, of course. Especially wherever "Sajudis" is behaving particularly aggressively. Despite this, we have carried out extensive explanatory work both among the young people and their parents. The military commissars certainly deserve praise.

[Shevtsov] How are the stipulations of the decree issued by the president of the country on the surrender of weapons being implemented?

[Varennikov] Various organizations and institutions have surrendered some 5,500 units of weapons. As for weapons in individual use, only a few have been handed in.

According to our information certain groups such as the "forest brotherhood," for instance, are building dumps and hiding weapons. We keep finding and confiscating them.

Serious concern is being caused by the organization in the Republic of subdivisions on the lines of the "green armbands," "legionnaires," and the aforementioned "forest brotherhood." It is a question of real fighters. The "Sajudis" enlists, as a rule, guys who have done their service in the Army. The necessary material conditions are being created for them and a special uniform is being prepared...

[Shevtsov] What are the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and the Ministry of Defense waiting for?

[Varennikov] This question should primarily be addressed to the law enforcement organs, to those entrusted with the tasks of ensuring compliance with the USSR Constitution and the decrees of the president of the republic. The internal toops deployed in the republic are discharging tasks on the protection of important state installations, while the local internal affairs organs are in their main subordinated to the "Sajudis" and serve it loyally.

[Shevtsov] Valentin Ivanovich, in one of his recent interviews V. Landsbergis said that the military are exerting pressure on him and his government, that they are threatening them, and that therefore the people of Lithuania lack confidence and feel afraid. What was he talking about?

[Varennikov] In my opinion, our Union leadership and the military have shown the utmost restraint in the hope that the leadership of Lithuania will nonetheless come to understand that the only path is the path of democracy rather than the path on which it has embarked. As for Landsbergis' statement on the subject of pressure and threats, it is an attempt to stir up public opinion, especially public opinion in the West, and to appear as the injured and unfortunate party. There has been no pressure. I recall the recent events in the Transcaucasus. How much noise was made about the introduction of troops and its consequences. Yet no one asked: What would have happened if the troops had not been brought in? It was necessary to take resolute action against the extremists, against all who pushed the people toward confrontation. Here too under no circumstances do we want a clash to take place. Yet the Sajudists are openly setting up an army. So where is the aspiration for dialogue and democracy here?

[Svetsov] How will events develop in the Republic, in your opinion?

[Varennikov] I believe that even among the extremist section of "Sajudis" there are sensible people who will have to call to order all those who have overstepped the mark. I believe that, having ascertained the policy of the current leaderhip of the republic, the people of Lithuania will yet have the last word.

TASS Notes 'Strange' Lithuanian Democracy

LD2403190390 Moscow TASS in English 1853 GMT 24 Mar 90

[By TASS Analyst Anatoliy aladinskiy]

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—Last summer's issue of the Lithuanian-language ANTGIMINAS periodical, published by the socio-political Sajudis movement, devoted regular attention to the need for political pluralism. One article, for instance revealed a very specific reaction of the editors to the concern voiced by the Soviet Communist Party leadership over the complex processes in the Soviet Baltic region. The author of the article, commenting on the Moscow stance, exclaimed rhetorically, "What Will prevail—the force of law or the law of force?"

I looked up this article after reading one of the bills which are now being hastily submitted to consideration by the deputies of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet. The bill was entiteld "on criminal liability for anti-state activity". It envisages, among other thing, lengthy imprisonment for calls to violate the Lithuanian Republic's territorial integrity, especially with the use of copying machines and other media of mass information. If an offence is perpetrated while fulfilling assignments from organisations or representatives of foreign countries, the term in prison is doubled and the offender's property, the bill suggests, should be confiscated.

Only a very simple-minded person, far removed from the developments in the Baltic region and the country as a whole, can view these lines as expressing Sajudis adherents' righteous desire to protect the people's power against encroachments by outside enemies of the Soviets. To dispel all doubts concerning whom the new bill is spearheaded against, here is a quotation from a fresh document released by the republican government to call upon "residents of Lithuania not to participate in actions directed against resolutions of the Lithuanian parliament and ordinances of the government. Those who disagree with them place themselves beyond the confines of Lithuanian civic society and stand unprotected against negative legal, economic and social consequences".

What does this rather vague and alarming warning imply? Will those be imprisoned tomorrow who are today speaking out in support of Soviet power and the socialist system in the republic, who protest against plans to restore capitalist society and demand an end to encroachments on constitutional rights of citizens? Will they be dismissed from work? Deprived of all civic rights? It looks like anything can be expected, especially upon comparing this government call with the new bill.

What answer is Sajudis likely to give today to its own question, what will prevail—the force of law or the law of force?

One thing is clear: What Sajudis adherents are seeking to retain is not people's power but the power they managed to secure by sweet verbiage about the freedom of speech and will, and about democracy and future prosperity.

This is a strange logic of "democracy Lithuanian style." What will come next?

Lithuanian Party Leader Interviewed

PM2403002590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Mar 90 Second Edition p 1

[Interview with Mikolas Burokyavichus, first secretary of the provisional Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU Platform), by N. Garifullina: "'We Will Not Be Intimidated, We Will Not Be Broken'"]

[Text] [Garifullina] Mikolas Martinasovich, we would like to hear, firsthand, as they say, what the situation and the mood of the working people and the communists are like in Lithuania at the moment.

[Burokyavichus] The situation remains complex. The communists of the CPSU Platform welcomed with satisfaction the fourth plenum of the provisional Central Committee of our party; the participants at the plenum asked the USSR president and the Soviet Government to oversee the Congress resolution. The reactions to our plenum by the members of the reorganized Communist Party, whose Central Committee is headed by A. Brazauskas, were ambivalent: Some were positive, while the reactions of those who proceed from separatist positions were, naturally, negative. Yesterday I watched television addresses by Brazauskas and R. Ozolas. They uphold the course of secession from the USSR. If the debate is conducted at such a level, the level of the first secretary and member of the Central Committee Bureau (that is, if Ozolas has not meanwhile resigned from the party), then this makes it possible to draw a quite definite conclusion. Both of them are moreover deputy prime ministers. Yes, yes, not deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, but explicitly deputy prime ministers. It is not just the political orientation of Lithuania which has been changed, even the titles of state posts are the same as in bourgeois Lithuania.

What was the working people's attitude to our plenum? Their attitudes varied, too. Some reacted with understanding and support; others rejected it; there is a bit of everything. For instance, I attended a plenum of the Shalchininskiy Party Raykom—the absolute majority of communists there proceeds from the CPSU platform. Listening to the communists' ardent speeches, I felt joy at the sight of their activity and determination to uphold the socialist interests of the working people of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. They fully support the decisions of our plenum. At rallies and meetings which are currently taking place in Vilnius, Klaipeda, Snechkus, and other cities, working people are resolutely declaring their disagreement with the policy of the Supreme Soviet and its course toward secession from the USSR. However, it will obviously be difficult for a certain section of people, especially those who have succumbed to the influence of the nationalistically minded "Sajudis," to understand our position. It is necessary to look at things realistically. They will have to think about this long and hard, think about everything. It will take time, not a year or two, but five to seven years, for a socialist world outlook to form among a substantial section of the Lithuanian population of Soviet Lithuania. And I stress, Soviet Lithuania, because I do not accept and cannot accept the decision of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet on changing the title of the republic. Lithuania was, is, and will be Soviet. It received this title on the basis of the USSR and Lithuanian SSR Constitutions.

[Garifullina] Mikolas Martinasovich, as is known, President M.S. Gorbachev of the USSR has instructed V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, to take steps without delay to suspend the establishment of formations which were to replace the border troops and the internal affairs organs. How is this order being implemented?

[Burokyavichus] According to our information, the formation and training of these subunits continues. In the streets, on boardings and lamposts everywhere, there are notices about the enlistment of volunteers. A paramilitary rifleman's organization which once existed in bourgeois Lithuania is being revived. The attitude of the Supreme Soviet and the government toward the instructions of the USSR president and the Soviet Government is, to say the very least, not serious—they are taking no steps to implement, at least to some extent, the instructions of the president, and they are deliberately steering a course toward confrontation and the exacerbation of the political situation. Yesterday K. Prunskiene also spoke on television. What is their stance now? "The struggle to end Lithuania's annexation by the Soviet Union has entered the homestretch." Landsbergis also declared at a session of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet that "Lithuania's position remains unchanged."

[Garifullina] The press published a report stating that the Collegium of the USSR Prosecutor's Office has instructed V.Yu. Barauskas, the republic prosecutor, and all the republic prosecutor's office staff to observe the rule of law in accordance with the USSR Constitution and to take steps against those who kindle ethnic strife and so forth. How are these recommendations being implemented?

[Burokyavichus] Prosecutor V.Yu. Barauskas was removed from his post yesterday. The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet has appointed a new prosecutor, Palauskas; obviously he will suit them better. This was done in contravention of the USSR Constitution, which states that the prosecutor of a Union republic is appointed by the USSR prosecutor. They have ignored this. The question now arises: Which laws should the prosecutor in Soviet Lithuania abide by—Union laws or those adopted by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet? They are at variance with each other and sometimes they are diametrically opposed. This is the situation.

[Garifullina] Mikolas Martinasovich! Is it difficult to be a communist in Lithuania today? For you on the CPSU Platform?

[Burokyavichus] When nationalist reactionary forces have come to power, when with the help of parliamentary methods the state and social systems are being changed, when all the mass media have been subordinated to their aims, when antisocialist and anti-Soviet hysteria is being kindled, there is no question that life is hard—very hard—for communists. Not everyone can withstand the pressure—not just the political and ideological pressure but also the psychological pressure. I will frankly admit: Some communists are wavering, and there is a certain amount of confusion. The situation is also further complicated by the fact that many communists from the independent Communist Party of Lithuania have joined with "Sajudis," they are singing the same tune, and they are directing all their efforts against the internationalist communists of Soviet Lithuania. However, we are staunch people, we will not be intimidated, we will not be broken. These are not just words.

[Garifullina] May I ask you a personal question? What does the party mean to you?

[Burokyavichus] You see, I linked my destiny with the party back in December 1941, when the German fascist invaders were advancing on Moscow. Then, at age 18, I joined the Komsomol [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League]; in 1945 I became a candidate member of the party; and I have been a communist since 1946. However, to be totally accurate, it is a stance which has been with me all my life. I come from a family who were communists in the underground in bourgeois Lithuania. In June 1941 my father and elder brother were shot by the fascists. That was in Alitus City. Later my mother was shot too. She too was a communist. So I followed in their footsteps. My daughter and my wife share my convictions. I have no opponents in my family.

[Garifullina] Mikolas Martinasovich, currently SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA is receiving an enormous amount of telegrams and letters, showing that our readers are expressing solidarity with the communists and working people of Soviet Lithuania and that they support their desire to be and to remain within the family of Soviet peoples. In this difficult hour we are with you!

[Burokyavichus] Thank you. I will pass this on to my comrades without fail. We appreciate it.

Political Analysts Discuss Lithuania

LD2403091990 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 23 Mar 90

["Top Priority" program, presented by Sergey Goryachev with political analysis by Sergey Plekhanov and Andrey Kortunov]

[Text] How do you do ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to "Top Priority." I am Sergey Goryachev. The situation in Lithuania is, of course, of top priority these days. On 11 March the Supreme Soviet of this republic proclaimed its independence from the Soviet Union, while the central government in Moscow had declared this independence resolution as null and void. Tension seems to be mounting as the Lithuanian leaders are passing laws violating the Soviet Constitution. I have invited two political analysts, Sergey Plekhanov to my left and Andrey Kortunov to my right, to share their views on that. Probably you will start Sergey?

[Plekhanov] Well, it's a very complex and dangerous situation. There is a danger of the situation getting more polarized and I'm keeping my fingers crossed and I'm hoping that the common sense which exists in Lithuania will prevail. You see I think the Lithuanian government is behaving like a bull in a china shop. They are challenging the sovereignty of the Soviet Union. They are refusing to take a route to independence which would involve taking into account the existing situation and the legislation which is now being worked out. They are trying to do it shotgun way, you know like shotgun wedding, so they want to get a shotgun independence. And my question is why are they behaving this way? Why not do it on the basis of common sense? And the only answer I can have is that it reflects the group interests of a narrow circle of people, politicians, who are whipping up nationalist sentiments and for the reasons of the specific historic moment that the country is living through they have been able to get on top.

[Goryachev] Let me interrupt you in this, and say that you mentioned a narrow group of people, but as I understand there were democratically organized elections in Lithuania and the majority of legislators voted for the resolution, so why should we talk about this narrow circle of people?

[Plekhanov] Well, if you count the number of votes that were cast for the deputies which voted for independence they amount to about 30 percent of people who have a right to vote. So the decision reflects no more than 30 percent, and besides constitutionally seceding from the Soviet Union requires a popular referendum. They declined to go to popular referendum and the reason is, I think, that they were not sure that they would win.

[Goryachev] But why did they take this decision? I don't understand it really. The law on secession is being considered now in the Supreme Soviet, as if they waited a little...

[Plekhanov] Yeah, but, you know, I (?see it), if they really want to do that they could have seceded legally and gradually without any, any confrontation.

[Kortunov] Of course it would have been logical, but I think that there are at least two major reasons why they decided to act in a way they are acting now. First of all i think that they are scared of presidential, they are scared that some powers that they have now will be left for the president of the Soviet Union.

[Goryachev] For Mikhail Gorbachev.

[Kortunov] Yes, and therefore they are in a hurry. The second thing, I guess that you know, if they acted in a, well, in a way they should act then I guess it would take a long time.

[Plekhanov] A longer time.

[Kortunov] And yeah, and probably the, you know, the sentiments of nationalism will lessen, probably the people will reconsider.

[Goryachev] I agree with one of your points. You said that they were in a hurry trying to do that before Mikhail Gorbachev acquired these additional powers, they made this move one day before he was proclaimed president. Now what are the reasons, Sergey?

[Plekhanov] It's just the smell of power that people find irresistible. If you do it the legal way, if you do it the common sense way, negotiating with Moscow, not challenging the sovereignty of the Union and so on, then it requires a different sort of leadership. But since there is a group of people who have risen to prominence and now to power on the basis of whipping up the independence mood, I mean they are to a certain extent prisoners of that mood. They are prisoners of that wave and at the same time they are benefactors of, beneficiaries of that wave. This is, this is again, this is something which we have seen in the history of other countries and never has there been a case where such, such a wave really led to good results in terms of human rights, democracy and so on because when you whip up the sentiment of the crowd based on belonging to a particular ethnic group the crowd is more likely than not to trample the rights of everybody else. It becomes like a herd. And that is, that is unfortunately what's happening in Lithuania. You know there is an important point here. When the Lithuanian government stresses that they are not bound by the laws of the Soviet Union because the Soviet Union allegedly in 1940 just occupied Lithuania, and so the illegality of that act makes all the other actions of Moscow illegal for 50 years. I mean this is a very distorted view of history. The Lithuanian government in 1940 had very specific interests in joining the Soviet Union. To what extent was it a free choice? Of course it was a constrained, a forced choice because they would rather stay independent, but they were pressured by Nazi Germany. They had to choose.

[Goryachev] It was a war time, after all.

[Plekhanov] It was a war which had started, and Germany wanted to occupy Lithuania, and it made a lot of sense for the leaders of Lithuania back then to join the Soviet Union. And an important point of the deal which was reached between Lithuanians and Moscow at the time was that Lithuanians got a lot of land which they had not had before, and I have in mind...

[Kortunov] Like for example from Poland.

[Plekhanov] A piece of Poland which, and by the way the Soviet Union paid for. A huge sum of money went from the Soviet Union to Germany in order that the part of Poland be given Lithuania, because Lithuanians thought it was their land, and their current capital as in that part of the, of the republic. Secondly they had, they received access to the sea, which a part of Lithuania, the port of Klaipeda, formerly Memel, which used to be a German territory. So the Germans gave it to the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union gave it to Lithuania. And Belorussia also gave part of its land to Lithuania. So the government at the time received a lot of additional territory. It received security by becoming, by coming under the protection of the Soviet Union. They received a respite from the way and it was not inevitable that Hitler would go further, after all there was this Treaty on Nonaggression between Moscow and Berlin, so it was a complex story. That does not mean that somebody is whitewashing Stalin or not, but one should really see the facts in the full perspective.

[Goryachev] It seems to me that this case goes beyond the Soviet borders. If we recognize that Lithuanians...joining the Soviet Union was illegal then we should also reconsider the Polish borders.

[Plekhanov] Oh sure, and then Klaipeda, then Klaipeda will have to go back to Germany, right? And then the Belorussians say wait a minute, if that was illegal give us back our...

[Goryachev] Right. Do you think the people in Lithuania just do not know that, or do not undertand how complex the situation is? Why do they follow that course? And it seems to me that the majority of the people in Lithuania are for this independence resolution, is that right?

[Plekhanov] No, I haven't seen any polls that...

[Kortunov] I think the majority.

[Goryachev] I haven't seen polls either.

[Plekhanov] The Lithuanians, they may be for independence, but the particular policy of achieving independence which was, is being followed by the government I'm not sure that the people support that.

[Kortunov] And I think that the term independence is becoming so vague, you known, it can be a sovereign state within the boundaries of the Soviet Union, you can get your whole independence and at the same time preserve some, you know, bloc relations with other republics of the Soviet Union. So it's not that, that clear that, you know, independence means, you know, secession in its present form. And, you know, speaking of the Lithuanian leadership, I think they are very selective in their approaches and in their estimations of the situation. For example, they want to preserve economic alliance with the Soviet Union and the same preferential treatment in the economic sphere, and at the same time they want to expropriate the state property of the Soviet Union in the republic. They want to preserve their boundaries that they got under the provisions of Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and at the same time they reject the political significance of this step. So I think they are very selective and they are not professionally well-trained. Probably this is the reason, because these people...

[Goryachev] You mean the leadership?

[Kortunov] Yeah, I mean the leadership because they have always been, you know, at the background of the political scene of the republic. They used to be highly irresponsible, you know, politically and suddenly they acquired huge political power. It's natural that they'll need some time to adjust themselves to this situation, to cope with it.

[Plekhanov] As far as the information that the population has, I mean the policy which is being pursued by the Lithuanian government, it just, and it makes the claims to democracy or anything by them ridiculous. For instance, they shut off the Leningrad television because Leningrad television showed pictures of a rally, a report on a rally, which took place in Vilnius [with] 200,000 people.

[Goryachev] And the rally was against that resolution on independence.

[Plekhanov] That's right. Then they are now threatening to shut off the Moscow television because they don't like the way Moscow covers the events in Lithuania. Now the Russian-language newspapers in Lithuania publish some of the reports which the Lithuanian language still does not publish. So what, what the, what you are seeing in Lithuania is creating of an information vacuum. So, but this is exactly what Stalin has been doing to, in this country. I mean we've gone through it, and thank God we have emerged out of it, because we now live in an open information space where you can turn on your radio and get all kinds of information from around your country. Now the Lihuanians want to create an airtight situation where the people will hear only what the government wants them to hear.

[Goryachev] All right. President Gorbachev is now using his extended political powers as a president, issuing decrees; what do you think his options are, Andrey?

[Kortunov] Well, first of all I think that he can have some quick fixes, you know, to safeguard the borders, to establish at least some rules and procedures in order to, you know, tackle the situation there. Second, of course, the most powerful weapon the central government has is the economic one, because after all, Lithuania is highly dependent on raw materials that it gets from the Soviet Union, energy.

[Goryachev] I think about 90 percent of crude oil comes from the Union to Lithuania.

[Kortunov] Yes, and even, even, you know, speaking about, you know, all other stuff, you know, and or cars and whatever. I think that this is of course, this is a very powerful weapon and I only hope that they are not going to start an economic war against Lithuania, because it can alienate the whole people if they are placed in the situation of a blockade; then I think their most extremist groups in Sajudis will have the upper hand in the situation within the country. And finally I think the possibility to (?rush) on the legislation on secession is becoming very important and, you know, the Supreme Soviet is now hurrying up, they are trying to specify the provisions of this (?secession) legislation, and I think that it will influence the situation not only in Lithuania but also in other Baltic states.

[Plekhanov] It's not only legislation on secession, it's also the legislation on the new Federation, the terms on which the republics will join in the Soviet Union.

[Goryachev] So you think time is playing in the hands of the central government in Moscow?

[Plekhanov] Oh absolutely, and on the, on the side of common sense in Lithuania.

[Goryachev] And how do you assess Gorbachev's measures so far? He is showing, on the one hand I think, energetic moves, and on the other hand he is demonstrating his restraint.

[Plekhanov] Well, it's clear to me that he does want to avoid any use of force. He wants to deal with this issue by political means through negotiations, but he will have to participate in this process as head of the Soviet Union, which includes Lithuania. Right?

[Goryachev] Now getting to the international aspect of all that, how do you assess the reaction, say, in the United States toward the developments? We know a resolution was passed the other day by the Congress urging President Bush to consider diplomatic recognition of Lithuania. This move has not been made so far by the President. And what do you think about the actions of Americans here? What part can they play in (?the settlement) here in Lithuania?

[Plekhanov] Well, you know, since the United States is not recognizing incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union, then potentially the United States remains a force which could do damage to the process in the Soviet Union, the process of democratization. Well, wisely, I think the administration has refrained from acting in a rash way. They have been emphasizing that they favor a negotiated solution and they are wary of steps which might damage the situation in which Mikhail Gorbachev is. There is a realization that a

Lithuanian crisis is potentially very damaging to Gorbachev and his new presidency. So I think that the American Government is hoping that violence will be avoided and that there will be some kind of a peaceful resolution of the dispute, which is also the hope here in Moscow. So I think that in a curious way the two sides have about the same approach as far as the outcome of the crisis is concerned. But of course on the other hand, as I have said, the fact that the U.S. Government remains in a position of nonrecognition of the current status quo, is unhelpful.

[Goryachev] All right. I think I should ask this question. Do you think Lithuania will finally go?

[Plekhanov] I don't know.

[Goryachev] You?

[Kortunov] Well it depends how you define the word go, where to? I think that finally what our aim should be is to reach, you know, something like common Soviet house, and in this house it will not be that terribly important whether Lithuania is really an independent state or a state which is...

[Goryachev] Or independent state within the Soviet Union.

[Kortunov] Yeah. I think that will not be that terribly important maybe in 20 or even 10 years if perestroyka succeeds, if there is a something like a common Soviet market then.

[Plakhanov] It is interesting that in the current draft legislation on the new Federation, which is now being very actively discussed and probably (?within) the next few days we will see a law on it, there are very important provisions. Each republic will have a right to conduct its own foreign policy, to have its embassies, to develop its own relations with foreign countries. Each republic will have a right to develop whatever ties with the other republic without going to the center for commission or anything, so horizontal ties. And each republic will choose the particular status, a particular kind of relationship with the other republics that it chooses. So you will have a very diverse, very loose and open Soviet Union. So that's the model which I think holds great promise for the future and is ultimately acceptable to the republics.

[Kortunov] I think we are a little bit too late with this law, but I must say better late than never, and hopefully this law will help to resolve that issue with Lithuania.

[Goryachev] Well that's it, "Top Priority." Thank you very much for listening. Taking part were Sergey Plekhanov, Andrey Kortunov, our two political analysts, and moderating was Sergey Goryachev. Goodbye.

Commentary Urges 'Compromise' Over Lithuania

LD2503115990 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Commentary by analyst Vyacheslav Solovyev]

[Text] It would not be an exaggeration to say that Lithuania has been in the focus of political discussion throughout the past week. After its parliament proclaimed restoration of an independent Lithuanian state, the central authorities took steps to safeguard the rights of Soviet citizens and the interests of the Soviet Union on the territory of that republic. The legal basis for those measures is the decision of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR proclaiming the decisions of Lithuania's Supreme Soviet null and void.

However, the political situation in the Republic is variously assessed, and not only in Lithuania but also in Moscow. The USSR People's Deputy Anatoliy Sobchak finds that Lithuania's proclamation has no legal force before a law is passed on the procedure of secession from the Soviet Union. Another deputy, Sergey Stankevich, says we made a grave mistake by failing to start talks with Lithuania way back last year.

No doubt if we had concluded a new union treaty by the beginning of this year events might have taken another turn, but we failed to do so and delays are often costly. We should take care the cost isn't too high, and for that we have to adopt a sober and balanced approach. The Lithuanian leadership should banish nationalistic euphoria and see to it that the 50-year long economic, political and human ties are not severed by a stroke of the pen.

The center should look for a compromise decision.

If we hold dear the principles of democracy, new political thinking, and nations' self-determination, then Moscow and Vilnius should act together to solve the complicated problems that have recently emerged. Whatever turn the events take, the main thing is to prevent any damage to the rights and interests of people of any nationality living in Lithuania or to the Soviet Union as a whole.

Discussion of Rumors Originating in Lithuania

PM2503134390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Mar 90 Second Edition pp 1, 3

[Yu. Shabanov "Lithuania Reportage": "Where Do Rumors Originate?"]

[Text] Spring is really on its way in Lithuania, and we clearly saw the signs of it all along the road to Snechkus. Plants are in bud, and the first fresh green shoots are breaking through. We drove through Lithuanian, Polish, and Russian villages where people have always lived in friendship, aware that they share common joys and misfortunes. But what is happening today?

"I don't think anyone would succeed in driving a wedge between us," kolkhoz [collective farm] member R. Andrikene told us. "We have nothing to share out, there is only one land..."

Simple words. But think of the human wisdom they contain! Do all people in the republic have enough of it?

While driving, we listened to a report from the Lithuanian parliament sitting. Deputies were asking questions of General G. Taurinskas, leader of the republic DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy] Committee. We felt as if we were listening to a trial. "Why do you refuse to hand over your property to us?" members of parliament kept badgering the general. "To whom are you subordinate—to us or to your department? Whose laws do you intend to obey?..."

The general tried to make them understand that the property in question had been paid for by the USSR Ministry of Defense and DOSAAF, but this did not cool the deputies' passions: They demanded the immediate surrender of everything in DOSAAF's possession. Finally, the exhausted general exploded:

"I have no idea whom I should obey now..."

It was on 23 March that Colonel General N. Kotlovtsev, USSR people's deputy and chairman of the USSR DOSAAF Central Committee, presented V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, with a protest against the republic parliament's decision on the Lithuanian SSR DOSAAF's exclusive subordination to the Republic's Council of Ministers.

Representatives of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] embarked on assisting local militia organs to confiscate weapons, detect and investigate crimes, and maintain public order. Internal affairs organs have already confiscated 5,500 firearms from organizations and institutions and placed them in storage.

Many people here are now living with a feeling of divided loyalties—which laws should they observe, whose will should they obey? On the one hand, the Republic's parliament was lawfully elected and it is impossible not to recognize it. On the other hand, however, the legislative acts it has elaborated are clearly at odds with the USSR Constitution. People want certainty, they expect politicians to act sensibly. But in the absence of sensible actions, rumors thrive. Someone told foreign journalists, who are present in strength in Vilnius today, that tanks had already taken up positions in the square outside the building of the republic's Supreme Soviet. An excited swarm of journalists rushed there—the military were in the process of overthrowing the government. Everything proved to be a canard.

In the evening Lithuanian Television showed the movement of armored vehicles in the city, declaring that these pictures were being transmitted to the West so that everyone could see how freely the occupiers are operating in Lithuania. Landsbergis, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, said that the military had explained this movement by referring to combat training plans, and immediately declared that he did not believe them.

The movement of hardware through the streets gave rise to heated debates in parliament, during which—it seemed to me—people deliberately laid it on thick. The local press is continuing its mass attacks. At the same time, nothing is being said about the raids on military storage facilities or the soldier who was stoned. It seems as if the republic's leadership, the militia, and the local KGB have dissociated themselves from the solution of the problems of those they consider to be citizens of a foreign power—the Soviet Union, in other words. A statement made in parliament on the impossibility of protecting the social and legal interests of Lithuanian citizens who are against withdrawal from the Federation is, alas, becoming a reality. Once again, a breeding ground for rumors. An employee at our hotel, a Lithuanian by nationality, said in alarm:

"My husband is Russian and at times I am afraid. The atmosphere in the city feels stifling. I am afraid to let my son go out on the street. I have already had several threatening telephone calls at home. Have some understanding for a mother's feelings..."

...We traveled to Snechkus to check on the latest rumor—the nuclear power station [AES] was, allegedly, surrounded by tanks and was about to be blown up. Just another canard. Yes, there is an Army subunit guarding it, but without any tanks.

As for provocations, there are indeed plenty of these. The newspaper TIMESHATIS KRASHTAS carried an article by Z. Vayshvila accusing the AES collective of selling radioactive pipes to the Utena bread combine. This proved to be a lie.

Here in Snieckus, just like everywhere else in Lithuania, there are quite a few politicized organizations but they all, with the exception of "Sajudis," have too few members to be taken seriously. And even "Sajudis" no longer exists, according to A. Chanchikov, member of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU Platform) Gorkom [city committee] and chairman of the labor collective council at one of the AES shops: It has dissolved into other social movements.

Firmly adhering to the CPSU platform, the city party organization also has numerous allies among nonparty people. True enough, the outflow of communists continues. But an influx of fresh forces began recently. They also include members of the technical intelligentsia and workers. A. Kulakov, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Gorkom, believes that committed communists are joining the party today.

Lithuanians Ignore Gorbachev Recommendations

LD2403185190 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] The leader of the Lithuanian Communist Party on the Soviet Communist Party's platform, Mykolas Burokevicius, has described the situation in the republic as complex. Interviewed by newsmen, he said the recommendation of the Soviet president was being ignored to stop the formation of paramilitary units aimed to take over from the police and border guards. Notices in the street invite volunteers to join such units. Simultaneously the riflemen's organization which operated in bourgeois Lithuania is being restored. Burokevicius criticised the lack of a serious attitude to the presidential recommendations on the part of the Lithuanian leadership, which he said was deliberately trying to worsen the situation. Many meetings in Vilnius, Klaipeda, Snieckus, and other cities hear [as heard] working people object the policy of leaving the Soviet Union pursued by the Lithuanian parliament.

Commentary on 'Understanding' of Lithuanian Issue

LD2503025890 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] With the center and Lithuania locked up in a dispute over its declaration of independence from Moscow, both the White House and U.S. Congress have called for the conflict to be resolved peacefully. The Senate adopted a relevant resolution and President Bush was spoken much in the same key. Commentary follows by Vladislav Kozyakov, and this is what he writes:

Significantly, the peoples of the Soviet Union and its leadership are sharing this view, saying that the controversial issues between the center and the republics must be resolved only in law and through dialogue and discussion. Work is now under way in Soviet parliament to produce a law which would delineate the authority of the Union and the republics and outline the procedure of seceding from the Soviet Union, which could also be applied to Lithuania, as one of the constituent republics. President Gorbachev is supportive of this position. The Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, in a recent meeting in Namibia with U.S. Secretary of State Mr. James Baker also spoke of his country's desire for a negotiated settlement to the conflict, something a Foreign Ministry spokesman, Gennadiy Gerasimov, reiterated at a news briefing in Moscow on Thursday.

President Bush appears to show understanding of the emerging situation, which is entirely the Soviet Union's internal affair. Likewise, he seems to appreciate the substance of measures taken by President Gorbachev, including his orders for stepping up border controls in Lithuania and for a temporary surrender of firearms by Lithuanians. Speaking on the issue of Lithuanian independence at a news conference on Thursday, President Bush justifiably remarked about there being what he called certain realities in life. A frequent argument arising these days in Washington is that the Americans have never approved of Lithuania's incorporation into the Soviet Union. It is to be hoped there are many in the United States who realize that this view, which [word indistinct] bilateral relations in the past, could only be damaging now. At any rate, a recent attempt in the Senate to get an appropriate resolution approved had failed after a majority voted it down in one of the Senate committees on Wednesday.

All told, the developments around Lithuania have become a sort of touchstone for superpower relations, since the question is one of America's respect for this country's sovereignty. CBS broadcaster Dan Rather, in a recent program, said the administration's position was one of noninterference in the Soviet Union's domestic affairs, but the legislature was dubious by comparison. However, he stressed that even many of the hardliners argued that meddling in Soviet internal affairs could be damaging both to bilateral relations and America's national security.

Vilnius Party Official Discusses Possible Split

PM2603071190 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 25 Mar 90 pp 1-2

[Interview in Vilnius with Professor Valentinas Lazutka, first secretary of Vilnius Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU Platform) City Committee, by stringer S. Balyutskiy; date unspecified; first paragraph is editorial introduction: "After the Split. Thoughts on the Political Situation in Lithuania"]

[Text] Vilnius—Events in Lithuania today are alarming everyone. They are so complex and contradictory that they cannot be given a straightforward assessment. We present readers with a conversation between our stringer and Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Valentinas Lazutka, chief of the Political Science Faculty at the republic's Higher Party School. He was recently elected first secretary of Vilnius Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU Platform) Gorkom [City Committee].

[Balyutskiy] You have risen to the leadership of the city's party organization at a critical time for the Lithuanian Communist Party. What, in your view, were the causes of the split that took place at its 20th Congress?

[Lazutka] Perestroyka had long been looking for a way into our republic. And mainly because of the political ossification of its then leadership. At a time of an exacerbated political struggle—when such reactionary associations as the "Lithuanian Freedom League" had come to the fore—the emergence of "Sajudis" undoubtedly played a positive role and galvanized the broad masses. Virtually all Lithuanian residents were understanding about the process of national rebirth that was then beginning.

The Lithuanian Communist Party—or rather, its leadership—acted correctly in supporting the democratic trend toward national rebirth in "Sajudis." But, regrettably, reactionary trends were ignored, and their destructive power was not taken into account. Moreover, a number of leaders entered into an alliance with "Sajudis" extremist forces. And the lack of experience, the habits of political struggle, and quite simply the softness that had emerged during the long years of ideological comfort prevented us communists from countering ideological desertion and capitulation, even though attempts were made to do so. At the 17th Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, for instance. However, immediately after this plenum the leadership of the former Central Committee abruptly changed its position and did everything to ensure that the quite fundamental measures which were outlined remained merely on paper. That was probably the turning point on the road to the split.

We needed to consult with communists on ways of radically restructuring the Lithuanian Communist Party. But the very next Central Committee plenum virtually geared it toward agitating for the Lithuanian Communist Party to leave the CPSU. All the mass media, including—and this was strange—party publications, conducted a mass campaign to besmirch the CPSU and indiscriminately falsify the history of the republic's Communist Party and party leaders. In this atmosphere, when antiparty euphoria and nationalist passions were being whipped up, separatist sentiments started to prevail among communists too. It was this which, in the final analysis, determined the split in the Lithuanian Communist Party.

[Balyutskiy] The ancients taught that to get to the bottom of something you had to answer the question: "Who stands to benefit?" So just who did benefit from this split?

[Lazutka] I think it was sought above all by the forces of social revenge. Their leaders, in particular. After all, they realized that communists and the strong united party were the main obstacles in the way of their long-cherished aspiration to restore the former regime. Moreover, many "Sajudis" leaders who considered themselves communists (Gudaytis, Genzyalis, Ozolas, and others) conducted splittist activities within the Communist Party. Obviously they were clearly aware that, given a normal development of perestroyka, communists would never recognize them as leaders. Some of the "partocracy" were also interested in a split. They knew that the incipient process of party democratization would sweep them away. Among such people I would list, in particular, former Central Committee secretary L. Shepetis and current Central Committee Secretary V. Berezov.

And, finally, everything that happened fell within the orbit of the interests of reaction both abroad and within the republic. Not for nothing was the process of the Lithuanian Communist Party's weakening enthusiastically supported by the leaders of many antisocialist organizations in Lithuania today.

[Balyutskiy] Different and often contradictory opinions are currently being expressed about the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress. On the one hand, there is the assessment made at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum. On the other hand, there are the claims that the congress was a step forward toward party democratization and the enhancement of party autonomy...

[Lazutka] Yes, a great deal is being said today, and in different tones of voice, about the autonomy of the Lithuanian Communist Party. But let's take a closer look at this "autonomy." When you do, you have to state that the Lithuanian Communist Party has now turned into an appendage of "Sajudis" and has become—as Yu. Paletskis, secretary of the Independent Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, put it—"its best part." "Sajudis" leaders have taken up leading positions in it, even shaping the bureau as they see fit. Almost half of its members are drawn from leading "Sajudis" organs. So that today all fundamental decisions are made not in Chernyakhovskiy Square (at the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee) but on Gediminas Prospekt ("Sajudis" headquarters). That's "autonomy" for you...

[Balyutskiy] A dependent independent Lithuanian Communist Party? Surely ordinary communists don't see it that way?

[Lazutka] The leaders of the Lithuanian Communist Party claimed that the slogans about autonomy and independence would allow the party to gain prestige among the masses, win the elections, and retain a parliamentary majority. At the 19 February plenum of the Independent Lithuanian Communist Party Algirdas Brazauskas said: "The Independent Lithuanian Communist Party proved its determination to walk with the people at the 20th Congress." Was this a determination to sacrifice party unity and split it? If so, the people, in my view, did not support this determination. The elections to the republic's Supreme Soviet were the litmus test. Only around 40 deputies who were members of the Independent Lithuanian Communist Party and without any support from "Sajudis" were elected. And if we are to believe Yu. Paletskis, its leaders were pleased with even that result!

[Balyutskiy] I'd like to dwell on the lessons of the elections in a little more detail.

[Lazutka] The leaders of "Sajudis" loudly celebrated their victory. But was this victory such an undisputed success? I don't think so.

First, in the first round slightly more than 70 percent of voters voted, and the figure in Vilnius was even less—a turnout of around 60 percent. In the second round only 65 percent voted. A considerable proportion of the population simply saw no choice for itself and essentially expressed a negative attitude to the voting.

Analysis of the election results shows that not only were deputies, including "Sajudis" deputies, not elected unanimously, they were elected even without a majority of the vote. Thus, V. Genzyalis received 60 percent of the turnout vote, but this represented just around 40 percent of all the okrug's voters. And in the second round, in which "Sajudis" representatives also prevailed, quite improbable things happened. Some candidates had more votes against them than for them. But they were elected, since the law required merely a simple majority of votes over the opponent.

In short, it seems that our new parliament has been elected not by an overall majority but... by an overall minority of the republic's voters.

[Balyutskiy] And yet, let's return to the previous question: How did people in the republic react to the party's changed position in the political arena?

[Lazutka] People may think I'm biased, but it seems to me that there can be no question of "full support for the new course." And this is why: By early March the Independent Lithuanian Communist Party had just 40 percent of its former members.

[Balyutskiy] And what about the Lithuanian Communist Party on the CPSU Platform?

[Lazutka] It currently has around 20 percent of its former membership. That is approximately 35,000 communists. But their number is growing—albeit slowly.

[Balyutskiy] Whatever the reaction of communists to the congress—positive or negative—its decisions could not fail to have affected their views of the party and its future. What was the main conclusion you drew for yourself—both as gorkom first secretary and as an academic?

[Lazutka] The main thing was to recognize the particular danger of separatism and nationalism for the existence of communist parties under present-day conditions. You would have thought that the extremist figures who put forward antiparty slogans so "raucously" should have been rebuffed. However, something at first sight improbable happened. Today these people, I repeat, make up the core of the Independent Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and Central Committee Bureau. They dictate policy and elaborate the strategy and tactics of a party which they themselves had reviled. This has largely happened because we in the party leadership had many such separatists, nationalists, and sheer careerists happy to dance to any tune.

[Balyutskiy] A journalist assessing the current activity of the Lithuanian Communist Party on the CPSU Platform recently asked in the newspaper LIETUVOS RYTAS just what its social structure was. And she "discovered" three strata: first, a lot of pensioners; second "numerous" military men; and third, former party functionaries who had lost their jobs in the "rapidly restructuring Lithuanian Communist Party." What comment would you make on that?

[Lazutka] Yes, old and experienced communists have remained faithful to the party at a difficult time. In my view, this is an important reaffirmation of the correctness of our path. And military men are not attracted by separatist myths... We are also proud that we are joined today by party workers who, without fearing the loss of their "comfortable jobs," criticized separatists before, during, and after the 17th Plenum.

Only for some reason the journalist failed to note that bureaucrats, the "partocracy," and the establishment [chinovnyy] intelligentsia have not joined our party. After all, there will be no state prizes or "meritorious" titles with us. This entire social group has gone over to our "neighbors."

The Lithuanian Communist Party on the CPSU Platform sees its main social bases in the working class, the peasantry, the engineering and technical intelligentsia, and the other mass nonestablishment intelligentsia. In that sense, it has a clearly expressed class character. But we reject the simplistic approach which contrasts class interests with nationwide and general human values. Our party's essence and nature are reflected in the CPSU Central Committee's draft platform for the 28th Congress.

The split in the Lithuanian Communist Party has been a major blow to the party which has long paralyzed its full-fledged activity. But in one respect it has gained—it has gotten rid of reactionaries, demagogues, careerists, bureaucrats, nationalists, and chauvinists. There has also been a spiritual cleansing of the party and a revival in our consciousness of the socialist ideal, which is based on social justice, free labor, and faith in a socialist future. The spirit of party comradeship, modesty, and straightforward discourse is increasingly being asserted among us.

[Balyutskiy] You mentioned the CPSU Central Committee draft platform. As we know, the "Democratic Platform in the CPSU" is currently being discussed alongside it. It was even mentioned at the city conference where you were elected gorkom first secretary. What is your opinion of the "Democratic Platform"?

[Lazutka] I think that a great deal in it should be accepted unreservedly. This applies first and foremost to the ideas of party democratization. Some of its provisions, incidentally, are already being implemented in the republic's party organization. For instance, a Council of Primary Party Organization Secretaries has been set up and is playing a great role in consolidating communists loyal to unity.

[Balyutskiy] But don't you think that most of the provisions in the "Democratic Platform" relating to democratization largely repeat the ideas of the CPSU Central Committee Platform?

[Lazutka] Undoubtedly. And there is nothing strange about that. However, the differences between them are no less important. And it is the things that differentiate them which have been least taken into account in the "Democratic Platform."

I personally take the view that the democratization of such a large, mass-based party as the CPSU is a long-term process and should be evolutionary, without any abrupt changes. That is why the draft CPSU Central Committee platform views the process on the whole as evolutionary and leading to a higher level of development based on the existing state of affairs rather than on its "idle" rejection, as Hegel put it. The "Democratic Platform," to my mind, is excessively disposed to an alarming degree to revolutionary surges and ultraradicalism. In that sense the CPSU Central Committee Platform outlines ways of restructuring the party which are far more sober and realistic.

[Balyutskiy] Let's return to the political situation in Lithuania. Recently events have taken place here which also require serious analysis and assessment...

[Lazutka] The first and main event was the decisions made 11 March at the republic's Supreme Soviet session. We all elected its deputies on the basis of the then Constitution. And they were given their mandates [nakazy] in the light of that Constitution.

Indeed, many of their programs and the collective "Sajudis" program raised the question of the rebirth of an independent Lithuanian state. This same aim, incidentally, was also formulated in the Independent Lithuanian Communist Party's program. But what has now happened here cannot be assessed merely within the framework of the expansion of sovereignty or the restoration of the republic's independence. To all intents and purposes an anticonstitutional action has taken place which has altered the socialist orientation of the entire state system. It was no accident that one of the first (albeit by a few minutes) legislative acts adopted by the new parliament was the restoration of the 1938 Constitution—the constitution of a totalitarian bourgeois state. And it was only after this that a provisional Basic Law replacing the Constitution was adopted. These steps virtually annulled not only the socialist past but even the socialist content of the Lithuania's future statehood.

[Balyutskiy] Was the Supreme Soviet entitled to repeal the 1977 Constitution?

[Lazutka] I would recall that it was elected by slightly more than one-third of the voters.

What about glasnost? Even the 1977 Constitution enjoyed a bit of discussion. It was published and only later adopted by the Supreme Soviet. The interim Basic Law adopted in its its place was not only not published and not discussed (excluding, of course, the "Sajudis" Seimas Council, where it was prepared) but even most deputies only saw it for the first time on voting day. So you can decide for yourself whether the Supreme Soviet was entitled to change the Constitution.

We are assured that perestroyka is under way in Lithuania and a democratic state is being created. However, in reality "Sajudis" has now to all intents and purposes retreated from its initial program. After all, what is perestroyka? It is a movement toward democracy and socialism—whatever our understanding of socialism. It is a movement toward historical progress. But the actions of "Sajudis" cannot be described as anything but the restoration of 40-year-old political and economic structures.

[Balyutskiy] How, in your view, should the Lithuanian Communist Party act in such a situation?

[Lazutka] In the present situation the position of the Lithuanian Communist Party on the CPSU Platform is very very complicated. There were attacks on us before, but these have now taken on a material form, if I can put it that way. The Council of Ministers recently issued an order transferring the Vilnius Higher Party School to the Lithuanian Republic. This is Soviet property, but under the law recently adopted by the republic's Supreme Soviet it has become the property of the republic... But we do not intend to "lay down our arms"! Objective circumstances require the existence of an organization defending working people's political interests. This is what we intend to do. This is what we intend to struggle for.

Chances of Compromise on Lithuania Examined

LD2503043190 Moscow International Service in Finnish 1530 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Commentary by NOVOSTI political observer (Igor Sedykh)—read by announcer]

[Text] How realistic is the secession of any Soviet republic from the Soviet Union? The USSR Congress of People's Deputies found the decision of the Lithuanian Supreme Council on the matter to be illegal. On the other hand, the USSR Supreme Soviet started discussion of a bill concerning the secession mechanism. In the view of Georgiy Shakhnazarov, adviser to President Mikhail Gorbachev, two or three years are needed to solve the problems between the USSR and Lithuania. Judging by everything, this process will be difficult.

According to an estimate by Yuriy Maslyukov, chairman of the Soviet Planning Committee, Gosplan, the Soviet national economy will suffer a loss of about 18 to 20 billion rubles. Taking into account the almost-complete dependence of the Lithuanian economy on Soviet raw material and other deliveries, such secession would be catastrophic for Lithuania. On the other hand, Lithuanian Premier Kazimiera Prunskiene said such calculations are incorrect; Lithuania, for its part, could present a long list of demands to the Soviet Union. Apparently this also includes the republic's share of Soviet foreign debt.

In our program, NOVOSTI political observer (Igor Sedykh) analyzes the problem of Lithuania and tries to find an answer to the question of whether a compromise is possible. At first glance, the parties have adopted irreconcilable attitudes, (Igor Sedykh) writes. The Lithuanians consider the problem already solved and hasten to look at the Soviet Union as a foreign state. Among Soviet deputies and the population, support is given to calls to take firm measures against the secessionists. Recent opinion polls show that in Moscow 37 percent oppose the secession of republics from the union, and elsewhere the opponents amount to 57 percent. Despite this, the matter is not unambiguous, (Igor Sedykh) continues. The appeal of the Lithuanian Supreme Council to Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov contains a proposal that before the arrangement of relations on the basis of an agreement, the existing economic relations be maintained and the existing conditions used as guidelines. In a word, the Lithuanian side understands and recognizes the mutual dependence on the Soviet Union and shows sufficient pragmatism and readiness to seek commonly acceptable solutions.

Will the union state have sufficient pragmatism? We can understand its attitude: Easy secession for one republic may create a chain reaction. In this situation it is no wonder that no one recalls the events of 1920-21; it would be useful. At that time the young and poor Soviet Russia signed agreements with even younger republics which thought it best to make use of their right to self-determination, with Estonia and Lithuania, and later with Latvia. All three obtained their share of the Russian gold reserve and freedom from all debts to Russia. In addition, even the equipment taken from Latvia before the German occupation was returned.

Of course, today the situation is different from what it was 70 years ago. In the republics there are industrial plants set up by the whole of the Soviet Union, and these are the only ones producing certain products for the whole country. The Baltic ports, and for instance the port of Klaipeda, are of vital importance for exports and imports for the whole of the Soviet Union. Even more acute is the question of continuing contacts with the Kaliningrad region, which belongs to the Russian Federation.

Finally, one must not forget security problems, either. Even so, I think that the principle of self-determination is not an absolute value. The most important thing is to restore the spirit of good neighborliness to its previous level and to strengthen it. The relations between the nationalities are acute today, both because of the mistakes made in the nationalities policy and as a result of the absurd economic expansion. The placing of relations between the republics onto a healthy market foundation, regardless of whether or not the republics secede from the Soviet Union, would also lay a foundation for improving the political relations between them. Today the only realistic integrating force in the Soviet Union can be a national market.

Similar views are also held by economists in the Baltic republics and by those who develop the doctrines of their economic independence, such as (Mikhail Bronstein) in Estonia and Kazimiera Prunskiene in Lithuania. Perhaps it would be worth accepting the view of Marju Lauristin, leader of the Estonian Social Democrats and Soviet people's deputy, that the republics must be given the freedom to decide for themselves whether they belong to the Soviet Union. The question of drafting a new agreement on federation already has been included on the agenda. A federation of republics: In my view, this model has not yet worn itself out, and the decision by the Lithuanian parliament is not in conflict with it. The question is only one of creating the foundations for such a federation. President Gorbachev let it be clearly understood that he considers it possible to have different relations with different republics, all the more so as in our time the building of a common European home creates preconditions for implementing all rights of statehood simultaneously within the Helsinki process and the Soviet Union.

Mass Meeting in Georgia Supports Lithuania

LD2503084690 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 2145 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] A many-thousand-strong meeting supporting the decision of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania to proclaim the restoration of the independent Lithuanian Republic took place today in Tbilisi. The meeting was organized by Georgia's political parties and public movements. The speakers condemned the Kremlin's imperialist ambitions and expressed concern about the provocations by the center, its play on peoples' national feelings, and its contradictions.

The meeting's resolution demanded that the Soviet Government recognize without delay Lithuania's independence, cease its interference in Lithuania's internal affairs, and begin negotiations with the Republic of Lithuania under UN supervision. The meeting demanded that the Georgian Government officially state that Georgia has no economic claims on Lithuania. Mass information media should use the term The Republic of Lithuania instead of the Lithuanian Socialist Soviet Republic. The meeting appealed to non-Lithuanians residing in Lithuania to support Lithuania's independence.

State Radio Explains Lithuanian Broadcast Break

LD2403190690 Vilnius Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] As has already been reported, programs broadcast by Lithuanian radio for abroad were not broadcast last weekend. In response to an inquiry by Lithuanian radio and television, a telegram has been recieved from the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting [Gostele radio], signed by Plevako, which reads as follows:

An error occurred while stand-by transmitters were being switched over for the shift to summer time, and the operating frequencies of transmitters were being changed. The work was being carried out over the weekend, when the bulk of the staff were not present, and the switching error was repeated for a second time. The error was corrected on 20 March, the telegram says.

Editorial staff at Lithuanian radio have told us that broadcasts for abroad are now normal.

Council Recommends Formation of Media Board

LD2503150990 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1200 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Excerpts] On 22 March the Supreme Council of Lithuania [words indistinct] and set up instead an organization titled the Lithuanian Radio and Television. It has been decided that a board headed by a general director will guide this organization. The board, in the opinion of the deputies of the Supreme Council, should consist of 10-15 persons and be subordinated to the Lithuanian Council of Ministers. Preparations are now under way to select the personnel of the board. [passage indistinct] [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, on 18 March an event which provoked the anxiety of the entire Radio Committee, and especially the broadcasts department, took place. [words indistinct] announced that the Lithuanian radio broadcasts to North America have ceased. As is known, these half hour broadcasts, which take place at 0100 in English and at 0300 in Lithuanian, are broadcast to North America through five transmitters of the USSR Ministry of Communications. Three of them are situated in the European part of the USSR and two in the Far East. It emerged that on 18 March the USSR Ministry of Communications, unilaterally and without informing us, suspended the Lithuanian radio broadcast through these transmitters. Instead, it started Moscow Radio broadcasts in Russian and English. Attempts to get information from Moscow on the telephone were in vain. Comunications officials answered that they did not know anything about it. [passage omitted] Maybe that is the truth, although one detail is worrying. According to one listener, on 19 March Moscow Radio was announcing that Vilnius frequencies as its own. That means it had been informed about this error.

Speaking about the prospects of Lithuanian radio, I wish to share my thoughts about its broadcasts to the Soviet Union. So far there are really no such broadcasts, although the transmitter on 6010 and 9675 khz broadcasts the Vilnius Radio program to listeners in Moscow. It is true that the signals from this transmitter are heard not only in Moscow, but also in a large area of the European part of the USSR. This part of the Soviet Union can also receive broadcasts of the second transmitter on the 9710 khz frequency, broadcasting directly from Lithuania, from a locality near Kaunas, the first program of the Lithuanian radio.

A session of our country's Supreme Council is taking place these days. It provokes great interest both in our country and in the Soviet Union. Lithuanian radio transmits the session's plenary meetings with a simultaneous translation into Russian on the second program. But listeners in the USSR can hear only the Lithuanian version. We hear that the USSR residents are [word indistinct] information about Lithuania but do nothing to devote radio to this problem.

And here is yet another observation. In my opinion, the time has come to set up at the Lithuanian News Agency or the Lithuanian radio or a special department to counteract foreign disinformation. This department should look for disinformation about Lithuania in the foreign press [words indistinct] and supply denial on all possible channels. [passage indistinct] I will cite the following example: TASS supplied disinformation that, allegedly, the European parliament had not approved the resolutions of the Lithuanian Supreme Council. In reality, this problem was not examined in the European parliament, because it was introduced too late in the agenda. The European parliament will examine this matter in April.

And here is another example: At the Congress of People's Deputies Gorbachev stated, and this was televised, that the bourgeois Constitution of 1938 had been reintroduced in Lithuania. In reality, legal procedures of the restoration of Lithuania's statehood compelled the reintroduction of that Constitution. But a few minutes later it was abolished and replaced by a provisional basic law of the Republic of Lithuania reflecting the present stage of the state's development. [passage omitted]

I think that it would be expedient to organize broadcasts in Russian on the Lithuanian radio. However, it is essential that the listeners themselves in the Soviet Union support this idea.

Lithuania Gives Embassy Authority to Vatican

AU2403161990 Paris AFP in English 1008 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, March 24 (AFP)—Lithuania's parliament gave "extraordinary embassy powers" on Saturday to its representatives in Washington and the Vatican in case the breakaway Baltic republic loses its freedom in the standoff with the Kremlin over independence. The Republic's Supreme Council voted the powers "in case Lithuania should be prevented from acting and freely expressing the will of the nation," the parliamentary press office said in a statement received here.

The republic's leader and parliamentary speaker Vytautas Landsbergis signed the resolution which followed "the aggressive stance of the USSR with regard to the Republic of Lithuania."

Border Commander Discusses Lithuanian Situation

LD2303213390 Moscow TASS in English 2055 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—In a TASS interview, Lieutenant General Valentin Gaponenko, commander of the troops of the Baltic Border District, described as "very timely and specific" the Soviet president's decree "on additional measures to ensure the rights of Soviet citizens and to protect the sovereignty of the USSR on the territory of Lithuania."

"A suspension of the operation of the USSR Constitution on the territory of the republic by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet would signify the repeal of Article 73 which stipulates that the protection of the state border is under the jurisdiction of the USSR," Gaponenko said.

"An enrollment of volunteers for the protection of the borders of the territory has been under way among the Lithuanian population in recent days. An attempt is being virtually made to set up parallel units for the protection of borders.

"The republic's desire to assume the protection of the border with their aid without any technical means, trained personnel, and all essentials may slacken the reliability of the Soviet Union's borders.

"This may lead to undesirable consequences," Gaponenko emphasised. "For example, extremist actions on the border or attempts at undermining border regime and normal maintenance of engineering facilities are not ruled out."

A number of measures have now been taken to strictly maintain order on the border, to ensure the observance of the border regime and to prevent a destabilisation of the situation. Measures have also been taken to maintain normal relations with contiguous countries and to ensure the normal functioning of checkpoints.

Soviet diplomatic and consular missions abroad have been instructed to introduce a permissive procedure for foreigners entry into the territory of Lithuania, a spokesman at the Soviet Foreign Ministry told TASS today. This measure is to bar the way to this union republic for persons "inclined to unlawful actions."

As developments have shown, all actions being performed now by law enforcement agencies are enforced ones. The denial of laws cannot but bring about anarchy in all its manifestations. The activity of all anti-Soviet elements has increased in the Republic.

Matters went to such lengths that Major General G. Taurinskas, chairman of the Central Committee of the paramilitary civilian defence agency DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy], became the target of threats and insults at the session of the Republic's supreme body for obeying the order to place in safe custody the arms that are under the authority of the agency.

There is a good deal of such arms in the Republic. It is not everywhere that demands to hand them in are being complied with. Lieutenant Colonel of the reserve Spronajtis, chairman of the Kaunas City committee of the DOSAAF, declined to hand in the available weapons. Only due to intervention by military units, 873 firearms and 516,000 cartridges were withdrawn.

In accordance with the resolution dated March 15 of the extraordinary Third Congress of the USSR People's Deputies and the Soviet president's decree, the USSR Interior Ministry is implementing a plan of urgent measures to monitor the situation in Lithuania and to react to its changes.

According to a report by the USSR Interior Ministry press center, groups of the ministry personnel have been sent to the union repubic. Representatives of the USSR Interior Ministry began to render assistance to local militia agencies in withdrawing weapons, in uncovering and investigating crimes and maintaining the public order.

Home affairs agencies have already withdrawn 5,500 firearms from organisations and institutions and deposited them for safe custody.

Measures have been taken to enhance the guarding of major facilities of all-union importance. Patrols, stationary posts and mobile crews of highway militia have been beefed up on motor roads, including those in border areas.

According to an established procedure, the luggage of air passengers is being inspected, and task groups have been set up on railway transport to inspect cargo and persons who may carry arms.

Baltic KGB Official on Border Protection

LD2303141190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1300 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, 23 Mar (TASS)—TASS diplomatic correspondent Igor Peskov reports:

Lieutenant General Valentin Gaponenko, chief of the troops of the Baltic Frontier District, has described as "very timely and specific" the USSR president's decree "on additional measures to guarantee the rights of Soviet citizens and safeguard the sovereignty of the USSR on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]." As is known, the decree, signed by Mikhail Gorbachev, instructs "the frontier troops of the USSR KGB to adopt the measures necessary to strengthen protection of the sections of the Soviet Union's state frontier that pass through the territory of the Lithuanian SSR and to cut short illegal actions that violate USSR legislation on the USSR state frontier."

The annulment by Lithuania's Supreme Soviet of the operation of the USSR Constitution on the territory of that Soviet republic meant annulment of Article 73, which states that defense of the state frontier comes under the jurisdiction of the USSR, the general said in a TASS interview, as he explained the frontier troops' tasks in the given situation.

In the opinion of Valentin Gaponenko the reliability of the protection of the border began to be affected primarily by such decisions of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet in accordance with which it was proposed to halt all movements of military equipment and personnel, while border troops should be on the move all the time. The general said that every day aircraft and helicopters take off and vessels and automobilies go out with duty details of border troops and special equipment to protect the borders. The message from the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet has fettered the actions of the border services. "Therefore, we are not fulfilling such messages but are continuing to defend the border in the normal regime," he stressed.

In recent days, the general continued, enrollment of volunteers to defend the borders of the region has been going on in Lithuania. In essence an attempt is being made to create parallel formations to defend the borders. The attempt by the Republic to use these to undertake the defense of the border without having any technical equipment, trained cadres, and all the essentials could weaken the reliability of the borders of the USSR, which we cannot permit. Valentin Gaponenko said that this could lead to undesirable consequences as there are on the territory of the Republic many classified and defense facilities. It is possible that there may be, for example, extremist actions on the border and attempts to undermine the border regime and the normal maintenance of engineering constructions.

Speaking about the actions of the border troops in these conditions, Valentin Gaponenko reported that currently the border duty details have been reinforced "numerically and with equipment from the reserves of the district." Also, a number of measures have been carried out for the strict maintenance of order on the border, the observation of the normal regime, and the prevention of the destabilization of the situation. Measures have been taken to maintain normal relations with adjacent countries and to ensure the normal functioning of crossing points. Measures have been outlined to explain to the population of the border regions that decree from the president of the USSR.

According to Valentin Gaponenko there has been, of late, a decrease in the influx of foreigners into Lithuania.

Paper Reports Increase in Border Security

PM2303172790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Mar 90 First Edition p 1

[Telephone interview with Lieutenant General V. Gaponenko, chief of Baltic Border District Troops, by Lieutenant Colonel A. Plotnikov; no place or date of interview specified; first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction: "Situation Under Control"]

[Text] Our correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Plotnikov telephoned Lieutenant General V. Gaponenko, chief of Baltic Border District Troops.

[Plotnikov] Valentin Konstantinovich, the well-known USSR presidential decree prescribed that border troops in particular should take the necessary measures to put an end to unlawful actions in breach of USSR legislation on the USSR State Border. What is meant by "unlawful actions"?

[Gaponenko] It is well known that the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet repealed the effect of the Soviet Union's Constitution, and consequently of Article 73, which states that questions of border security fall within the USSR's jurisdiction. Such actions can be unambiguously described as attempts to autonomously decide tasks concerning the state border's security. This also goes to explain the prohibition on the movement of personnel from subunits of Soviet forces and all types of military equipment, which was subsequently imposed by the republic Supreme Soviet. This actually creates obstacles to border security operations by our aircraft, helicopters, and ships, as well as by motorized border post details.

It is well known that the formation is now under way in the Lithuanian SSR of volunteer detachments, one of whose tasks is claimed to be the security of the region's borders. This means primarily the border with Belorussia, Latvia, and Kaliningrad Oblast. It is planned to recruit 3,500 men for this purpose.

All this could certainly complicate the international situation. Three more NATO warships set course for Lithuania yesterday and are now at a distance of 30-50 miles off the Soviet coast. It cannot be ruled out that extremist forces could also attempt to organize disturbances along the border.

I say this so that KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers can trace the development of events preceding the USSR presidential decree. We are well aware of the possible consequences of unlawful actions along a border with defense installations and a nuclear power station close to it.

[Plotnikov] Valentin Konstantinovich, how would you describe the situation along this section of the border today?

[Gaponenko] On the whole, the situation along the state border and on Lithuanian territory is under control. In compliance with the USSR presidential decree, we are taking measures which, I am certain, will ensure a stable situation along the border.

[Plotnikov] What specific measures?

[Gaponenko] They are additional measures to enhance the reliability of border security: reinforcement of border posts, their maintenance at a proper state of readiness, stepped-up order and a tightened regime along the border, and guaranteed normal operations by border checkpoints for citizens and freight and normal economic activity in the border regions.

DOSAAF Subordinated to Lithuanian Government

LD2303122490 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0100 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] In the afternoon a decision to transfer the DOSAAF [Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy] organization to the jurisdiction of the Republic of Lithuania was adopted by the Supreme Council of Lithuania. The DOSAAF organization was made provisionally subordinated to the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Lithuania until a DOSSAF conference is convened.

DOSAAF Chairman Protests to Landsbergis

LD2403185990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] On 23 March Colonel General Kotlovtsev, a USSR people's deputy and chairman of the Central Committee of the USSR Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy [DOSAAF] conveyed a protest to Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania, in connection with a decision of the republic's parliament, which subordinates the DOSAAF of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] exclusively to the Lithuanian Council of Ministers. The USSR DOSAAF Central Committee believes that this unprecedented decision is totally illegal and antidemocratic. It runs counter to the USSR Constitution and the laws of the Lithuanian SSR, and violates the right of citizens to unite in public organizations. The decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR signifies nothing other than the breaking away of the republican defense organization from the All-Union DOSAAF. A violation of the integrity, which damages the cause of strengthening the USSR's defense capability. The DOSAAF Central Committee has appealed to Gorbachev, president of the USSR, asking for the protection of the right of those citizens who are members of the Lithuanian DOSAAF and the interests of the all-union defense organization. An address has been sent to the Central Committee and all the members of the republic's defense organization which expresses, inter alia, confidence that the activists and the primary, education, and sports collectives, and all who hold dear the traditions of the Lithuanian SSR DOSAAF, will give their active support to the decision of the extraordinary Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies of 15 March 1990, will unite their efforts to maintain the unity of the country's all-union defense organization, and stand firm as patriots and internationalists.

Procurator Protests Lithuanian Appointment

LD2303172790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1558 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, 23 Mar (TASS)—In connection with the adoption by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] of the decision, contradicting the USSR Constitution, on 22 March 1990 on the appointment of a procurator for the Republic, a telegram signed by USSR Procurator General Aleksey Vasilyev has been sent to Vidudis Barauskas, the procurator of the Lithuanian SSR.

In the telegram, the powers of the procurator of the Lithuanian SSR are confirmed and it is recalled that the legislative acts "On the restoration of an independent Lithuanian state" and the revocation of the functioning of the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR and the Constitution of the USSR on the territory of the Republic, adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, have been recognized as invalid by decision of the Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies. "Any decisions on the appointment of a procurator of the republic contrary to Article 166 of the Constitution of the USSR are illegal and are not subject to enforcement."

"I demand from you and from the procurators subordinate to you that you strictly fulfill your duties in implementing the higher supervision of the enforcement of laws on the territory of the Republic in accordance with Article 168 of the USSR Constitution, irrespective of whatever local bodies are in existence, subordinating yourselves only to the USSR procurator general," the telegram states.

In the telegram sent by the USSR procurator to Vitautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, it is pointed out that in accordance with Article 166 of the Constitution of the USSR and Article 7 of the USSR law "On the USSR Procuracy," procurators of the union republics are appointed by the USSR procurator general, and therefore the decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR is illegal and is not subject to enforcement.

"Any attempts to oppose procurators in carrying out their legal functions will be seen as very crude violations of legality and an encroachment on the constitutional foundations of the Soviet system," the telegram stresses.

USSR Prosecutor Issues Cables to Landsbergis

PM2403001190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Mar 90 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report under the general headline "On the Political Situation in Lithuania": "At the USSR Prosecutor's Office"]

[Text] In connection with the adoption by the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] of a resolution on 22 March 1990 on the republic prosecutor, in contravention of the USSR Constitution, the USSR Prosecutor's Office has sent the following telegrams signed by acting USSR Prosecutor General A.D. Vasilyev, which read as follows:

"To V.Yu. Barauskas, prosecutor of the Lithuanian SSR

"I confirm your authority as prosecutor of the Lithuanian SSR.

"By resolution of the Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies the acts of legislation adopted by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet 'On the Restoration of an Independent Lithuanian State' and on the revocation of the operation of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution and the USSR Constitution on the Republic's territory are deemed invalid. All decisions on the appointment of a republic prosecutor contrary to Article 166 of the USSR Constitution are illegal and are not to be executed.

"I demand that you and your subordinate prosecutors strictly discharge your duties in the exercise of supreme supervision of the execution of laws on the territory of the republic in accordance with Article 168 of the USSR Constitution, irrespective of any local organs whatsoever, subordinating yourselves to the USSR prosecutor general alone."

"To V.V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium
"As is known, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted 22 March 1990 a resolution on the appointment of a republic prosecutor.

"Under Article 166 of the USSR Constitution and Article 7 of the USSR Law 'On the USSR Prosecutor's Office' union republic prosecutors are appointed by the USSR prosecutor general, and therefore the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet resolution is illegal and is not to be executed.

"I notify you that I have demanded that republic Prosecutor V.Yu. Barauskas and his subordinate prosecutors strictly discharge their duties concerning the exercise of supreme supervision of the execution of laws on the territory of the republic in accordance with Article 168 of the USSR Constitution, irrespective of any local organs whatsoever, subordinating themselves to the USSR prosecutor general alone.

"Any attempts to oppose the exercise by the prosecutors of their lawful functions will be regarded as the most blatant breach of legality and as an infringement of the constitutional bases of the Soviet system."

Moscow-Appointed Procurator Offers Resignation

LD2503115590 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Yesterday we reported about USSR Acting Procurator General Vasilyev's demand, which was published by TASS, that the former Lithuanian procurator, Vidutis Barauskas, should continue his duties and be subordinated only to the USSR procurator general. Let us remind you that a group of USSR Procuracy workers has arrived in Lithuania. Their true aim, according to the Lithuanian Procurator Arturas Paulauskas, is to force the Lithuanian Republican Procuracy not to comply with the laws of the Lithuanian state.

Thus, returning to the demands published by TASS, it should be noted that neither the USSR Procuracy nor TASS has reported the reply by Vidutis Barauskas. It was as follows: Having received your message confirming my authority as procurator of the Lithuanian Socialist Soviet Republic, I urgently ask you to accept my resignation.

Procuracy Officials Meet Lithuanian Counterparts

LD2403030390 Vilnius International Service in English 2300 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Excerpt] A team of executives from the Soviet Procurator's Office, headed by (Yuriy Shadrin), head of one of its departments, has arrived in Vilnius today. The guests were received by the procurator of Lithuania, Arturas Paulaskas, who was appointed to this high-ranking post yesterday. Mr. Arturas Paulaskas spoke with the guests for about an hour.

The executives of the Soviet Procurator's Office said that they had come to carry out a planned check-up of the Procurator's Office of Lithuania. A check-up of this kind was planned for May. Mr. (Yuriy Shadrin) noted that practical help from Moscow's side was the aim of this visit.

To this, Arturas Paulaskas replied that to his mind, the genuine aim of the visit was trying to make the procurator of Lithuania not implement the laws of the Lithuanian state. Mr. Paulaskas also explained that any further contact between the Procurator's Office of Lithuania and that of the Soviet Union were impossible in case they remained on the previous boss-and-subordinate level. The future relations should be regulated on a state level.

The guests were not handed any papers for inspection. Still, they plan to stay in Lithuania till 31 March. Egidiyus Bichkauskas, a Lithuanian parliation member, and Vidutis Barauskas, former procurator of Lithuania, also participated in the talks. [passage omitted]

Procurator Urges Obedience to Lithuanian Laws

LD2403152190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1249 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Speech by Arturas Paulauskas, Lithuanian procurator general, at the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live relay]

[Text] Of late, reports have reached us that some citizens representing various parties and political movements are occupying public premises and buildings without permission, and urging people to disobey the decisions and laws adopted by the Supreme Council. They make attempts to disrupt the law and the established legality in other ways.

As procurator general of this Republic, I would like to warn all these citizens whose behavior runs counter to the law, reminding them that currently valid laws, the Criminal Code, provide punishment for taking the law into one's own hands, i.e. for illegal execution of one's rights or alleged rights, as well as for robbery, attacking public or state property while using violence on individual citizens, and for inciting to carry out specific punitive actions: these laws will be applied to those who are found guilty of violating them.

I would like to stress that the Procurator's Office will take all measures to see that law and order are restored and ensured in the Republic. Therefore I appeal to the citizens of this Republic to refrain from such illegal actions, keep calm and do not violate the laws which are currently in operation.

New Lithuanian Ministers Meet Press, Comment

LD2403014790 Vilnius International Service in English 2300 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] A number of newly appointed Lithuanian ministers gave a press conference to home and foreign journalists tonight in Vilnius. Journalist Algimantas Cekuolis, who was conducting the news conference, pointed out that Lithuania was winning the upper hand in what he called the war of nerves between Lithuania and Moscow. We know what we want and we know where we are going and how to do it, Algimantas Cekuolis said. Meanwhile, Moscow is clearly at a loss, and that explains why military helicopters were circling about Vilnius and other Lithuanian towns and spreading leaflets with the text of Mikhail Gorbachev's presidential decree.

Commenting on the decree, the minister of internal affairs, Marijonas Misiukonis, said that Lithuanian militia was not going to use violence or force against those compatriots who refused to hand over their hunting rifles as required by the presidential decree. He added that Lithuanian laws had a much bigger moral strength than physical force. According to Minister Misiukonis, the Lithuanian militiamen have just a little over 6,000 personal firearms, with no tanks, planes, or combat guns.

Replying to journalists' questions about the Lithuanian youths who have deserted the Soviet Army, Speaker of the Lithuanian Parliament Ceslovas Stankevicius noted that they were under the protection of the Red Cross and of the militia. Some details were released about the deserter who was picked up by military people disguised in plain clothes as he was walking in the Vilnius street. The Lithuanian soldier was taken by force to the garrison of the city.

The journalists were informed about an incident in the central Lithuanian town Jonava, where some 30 Soviet paratroopers surrounded the local sports shooting ground and demanded that all small-caliber rifles be handed over to them within an hour. The sportsmen refused to obey the ultimatum. No news has reached us by this time as to how the conflict developed or ended.

Ministry Measures To Enforce Presidential Decree

PM2403000190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Mar 90 Second Edition p 1

[USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) Press Center report under the general headline "On the Political Situation in Lithuania": "In Execution of USSR President's Decree"]

[Text] In accordance with the resolution of the extraordinary Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies of 15 March and the decree of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev "on additional measures to ensure the rights of Soviet citizens and protect the sovereignty of the USSR on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]" the USSR MVD has issued appropriate orders, which have been communicated to the personnel of the Lithuanian SSR internal affairs organs.

A plan of urgent measures to monitor the situation in the Lithuanian SSR and react to changes in it is being implemented. Groups of ministry staffers have been dispatched to the union republic, and a USSR MVD Press Center has been formed in Vilnius. Representatives of the USSR MVD have begun assisting local militia organs in confiscating weapons, detecting and investigating crimes, and safeguarding public order.

Measures have been implemented to step up the protection of important facilities of all-union importance. Duty details, permanent posts, and mobile teams of the State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate have been reinforced on roads, including those in border areas.

Inspection of airline passengers and their baggage, including hand baggage, is being carried out in accordance with established procedure, and operational groups have been set up on railroad transport to check freight and people who may be transporting weapons.

Explanatory work regarding the voluntary, temporary surrender of firearms has started up among the population.

Some 5,500 firearms have been confiscated in organizations and establishments by internal security organs and have been placed in storage.

Lithuania Receives Ministry Press Statement

LD2403013990 Vilnius International Service in English 2300 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Lithuania has also received a statement signed by the press center of the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD], saying that the ministry issued certain orders following the decision of the Third Congress of the Soviet People's Deputies and the presidential decree of Mikhail Gorbachev. The personnel of the Interior Affairs Ministry of Lithuania have been informed about these orders. Ministerial executives from Moscow have been sent out to Lithuania and a branch of the press center of the Interior Ministry of the Soviet Union has been set up in Vilnius. The representatives from Moscow are helping the local militia force in confiscating firearms, fighting crime, and securing public order. The statement enumerates other means of help, as well.

(Patras Lubertas), first deputy of the Lithuanian Minister of Interior Affairs, said to an ELTA correspondent that the Lithuanian ministry was not informed about all these measures and that he was as surprised as the rest of the people in Lithuania.

Lithuanian Minister Interviewed on Recall of Arms

LD2303212190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Report over video from special correspondent V. Dvinin in Vilnius; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Video shows people in line for newspapers] We filmed this line this morning in Vilnius. The line is not for foodstuffs or for industrial goods which are in short supply, but for newspapers. Interest in what is happening in the republic is immense. What do the newspapers of 23 March report? EKHO LITVY [ECHO OF LITHUANIA], a sociopolitical newspaper of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the republic, leads with news about the work of parliament which is continuing to form the new government. A much more humble place is occupied by the telegram which was sent yesterday by our country's president to the chairman of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic's [SSR] Supreme Soviet. [video shows the newspaper articles mentioned] But the appeal of the Republic's Supreme Soviet to the workers of internal affairs establishments particularly stands out. Those who have experience of work in the Ministry of Internal Affairs and are prepared to swear loyalty to Lithuania are promised that they will retain their social guarantees. And the appeal says that the average salary of an official will be higher than the average wage in the Republic. We asked General Misiukonis, the Republic's minister of internal affairs, for an explanation. [video shows correspondent standing with Misiukonis in the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet chamber]

[Begin recording] [Dvinin] Is this not the formation of structures in parallel to your ministry?

[Misiukonis] I do not think so. I do not think so.

[Dvinin] But there is talk here of an oath. After all, your workers have taken an oath.

[Misiukonis] But this is mention of an oath for the future. This is mention of an oath for the future. Nobody is raising the issue now of changing the oath. Each person should have his say: to choose his path for the future—either to proceed or not to proceed, either to take an oath or not to take an oath. This is something for every militia man. But I think that this oath is hasty. Everyone must be allowed time to decide.

[Dvinin] Is your ministry currently fulfilling its functions?

[Misiukonis] Of course it is. I would consider that it is fulfilling them normally. People are working, and I would say that there are results, if one is to justify their work. There are results in maintaining public order and in the fight against crime, and in content. That is, a normal rhythm of work is taking place. [end recording] [video cuts to show Dvinin in an office setting next to a typewriter]

That work also includes gathering in the weapons which the population residing on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR has been instructed to hand over within seven days for temporary storage at Interior Ministry bodies. I have just spoken on the telephone with a representative of the Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs, in order to learn how the surrender of firearms is proceeding. I was informed that yesterday 39 weapons were gathered in, and 34 today. You will agree that this is really very few if one considers that, according to Ministry of Internal Affairs data, approximately 30,000 firearms have been registered overall in the Republic.

Vilnius Radio Carries Supreme Council 23 Mar

Formation of Government Discussed

LD2303113390

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1000 GMT on 23 March begins a live relay from the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius. Reception is good.

At 1000 GMT the announcer says that the deputies have not finished their discussions and the start of the session's work will be delayed.

At 1003 GMT deputies are asked to register. Deputies Abisalas and Stankevicius are in the chair. Today's agenda includes one item—the formation of the government.

At 1004 GMT the chairman of the Supreme Council, Vytautas Landsbergis, takes the floor.

At 1017 GMT Prime Minister Prunskiene takes the floor. Speaking of the formation of the government, she proposes that the finance minister, Sikorskis, should remain in his post.

At 1022 GMT a proposal is made that the formation of the government has not been properly prepared and the examination of this problem should continue in the commissions. But the proposal to appoint Sikorskis finance minister is supported.

At 1026 GMT Deputy Sikorskis states that the Ministry of Finance has drawn up all the necessary documents concerning the reorganization of the economy and finances. He thanks the deputies for their trust in him.

At 1035 GMT Sikorskis answers various questions by deputies concerning finances, taxation, credits to agriculture, the budget deficit, the withdrawal by some people of their savings and their tansfer to the Soviet Union, the introduction of Lithuanian currency, the financing of schools, Lithuanian gold which was deposited abroad before the war, etc.

At 1058 GMT procedural questions are raised on how to speed up the formation of the government.

At 1101 GMT Sikorskis is confirmed in the post of minister of finance by a majority of votes.

At 1103 GMT Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene proposes the candidature of Vaidotas Antanaitis to the post of minister of forestry. He was born in 1928 and is a professor and doctor of agricultural sciences.

At 1112 GMT various problems concerning detailed questions by the deputies are raised. There are complaints about poor organization of work.

At 1118 GMT chairmen of various commissions support the candidature of Antanaitis.

At 1123 GMT the session adjourns until 1300 GMT.

Forestry Minister Approved

LD2303151790

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1300 GMT on 23 March continues its live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius. Reception remains good.

At 1300 GMT registration of deputies reveals that there is a quorum.

At 1303 GMT it is announced that Deputy Antanaitis is ill and cannot be present at the session. Earlier he was proposed for the post of minister of forestry.

At 1345 GMT Romualdas Kozirovicius, born 1943 in Trakai, a Karaim member of the Lithuanian Communist Party, is appointed minister of material resources. Romualdas Jasinevicius, born in 1943 in Kaunas, Lithuania member of the Lithuanian communist party, graduate of Kaumas Politechnical Institute is proposed for the post of minister of industry by Kazimiera Prunskiene, chairman of the Council of Ministers. Jasinevicius currently holds the post of general director of "Sigma" Production Association.

Debates then follow the proposal. Many deputies question the candidate on foreign investment, ecology, unemployment, and other issues.

At 1425 GMT a strange noise is heard in the hall and the chairman of the session says: "On behalf of the Soviet Armed Forces, I apologize to the deputies for the interruption of the work of the session." Following this, the session continues normally, and by majority of votes Jasinevicius is appointed minister of industry.

At 1444 GMT Vaidotas Antanaitis is confirmed to the post of the minister of forestry.

At 1445 GMT the session adjourns until 1515 GMT.

At 1515 GMT the session resumes its work. Reception becomes unmonitorable.

At 1520 GMT there is the following announcement: "Vilnius speaking. The time now is 1720 hours. Listen to national melodies. "Music and songs follow this announcement.

Justice Minister Approved

LD2303164990

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Doemstic Service in Lithuanian at 1545 GMT on 23 March continues its live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius.

At 1545 GMT the session resumes its work. Delay was caused by discussions on the proposed candidates in groups and commissions.

At 1547 GMT Prime Minister Pruneskiene proposed Pranas Kuris to the post of the minister of justice. He was born in 1938, in Seduva, Lithuania. He is Lithuanian, doctor of law, member of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

At 1550 GMT the proposal is supported by various commissions of the council.

At 1555 GMT Kuris makes a statement stressing that the ministry's apparatus should be strengthened in the future. Deputies question Kuris concerning his activity in the Communist Party, his opinion on the death sentence, etc.

At 1620 GMT several deputies express their opinion about the candidate.

At 1624 GMT Pranas Kuris is confirmed as minister of justice.

At 1625 GMT Prime Minister Pruneskiene proposes for minister of health Juozas Olekas, born in Karasnoyarsk, a Lithuanian, graduate of Vilnius University Faculty of Medicine, physician, candidate of medical sciences.

At 1629 GMT chairmen of various commissions support the candidacy of Olekas.

Internal Affairs Minister Approved

LD2303175490

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1630 GMT on 23 March continues its live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius. Reception is poor.

At 1631 GMT Debates on Oleksas' candidacy for minister of health continue.

At 1642 GMT a vote on Oleksas' candidacy is called. Reception deteriorates to unmonitorable. The result of the vote is not heard.

At 1646 GMT reception improves. The post of minister of internal affairs is discussed; reception again deteriorates to unmonitorable.

At 1700 GMT reception improves; Marijonas Misiukonis, former minister of internal affairs of the Lithuanian SSR is heard speaking about his concept of the work and structure of the future ministry. Reception deteriorates to unmonitorable.

At 1729 GMT reception improves; a vote is taken on Misiukonis' candidacy: 67 vote in favor, eight vote against, and 28 abstain. Misiukonis is elected minister of internal affairs.

At 1732 GMT a recess is called until 1800 GMT.

Agriculture Minister Proposed

LD2303193190

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1808 GMT on 23 March resumes it's live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius. Reception is fair.

At 1808 GMT the names of the appointed ministers are read out.

At 1809 GMT Prime Minister Prunskiene proposes Vytautas Petras Knasys to the post of the minister of agriculture. He was born in 1927, is Lithuanian, an agronomist, and a graduate from the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences.

At 1820 GMT Knasys begins speaking.

Protest Statement Issued

LD2303205690

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1821 GMT on 23 March continues its live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius.

At 1823 GMT Knasys finishes speaking on his candidacy for the post of minister of agriculture. Debates on the candidacy follow. Knasys takes questions from the floor.

At 1830 GMT Halina Kobeckaite, chairman of the Nationalities Committee, is given permission to speak. She denies rumors of a conflict she says did not take place and says the rumors were intended to pit nationalities against each other. She says no one interfered with the work of the Nationalities Committee.

At 1835 GMT debates on the agriculture post resume.

At 1905 GMT a vote is taken. Sixty-two vote in favor, six vote against, 20 abstain. A vote is taken a second time because some deputies had not previously voted. It was announced that Vytautas Petras Knasys has been appointed minister of agriculture.

At 1911 GMT the draft law on Ministry of Internal Affairs is discussed. It is aimed at issues concerning the property and financing of the militia of the republic. The text of the Militia Law was read and debates on the text of the law begin.

At 1922 GMT Vytautas Landsbergis said militia workers were concerned about the future financing of the militia forces. Kazimiera Prunskiene said that once militia was subbordinated to the republic it would be impossible to imagine Moscow to pay their wages. The decision has been adopted.

At 1924 GMT Vytautas Landsbergis proposes to make a statement of protest to the USSR Government. The text of the statement was read and discussed; after editing of the text, a vote was taken. By majority, the statement was adopted.

At 1940 GMT a draft decision on Ministry of the Internal Affairs was read. After editing, a vote is taken. By the majority of votes decision has been adopted.

At 1944 GMT further work of the session is discussed. Vytautas Landsbergis called on everyone to understand the importance of the formation of the government. V.Landsbergis says that he must go live on Canadian television. K.Prunskiene says that the television link between Vilnius and Mainz, West Germany did not take place because Moscow blocked it.

At 1957 GMT debates on the work schedule continue. The council adjourns the session for a 30-minute recess.

Foreign Affairs Minister Appointed

LD2303233390

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 2100 GMT on 23 March resumes its live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius.

K. Prunskiene notes she had reservations about proposing candidates for the post of ministers because she wanted to have some consultation first with Vytautas Landsbergis who was not present at the moment. Following Prunskiene's remarks it was decided to discuss deputies' compensation instead and later discuss the formation of the government.

At 2124 GMT debates on compensation continue.

At 2137 GMT Kazimiera Prunskiene proposes Algirdas Saudargas for the post of minister of foreign affairs. He was born in 1948, in Lithuania, is a graduate of Kaunas Medical Institute, and a member of the Lithuanian Christian Democrats. He presently works at the Kaunas Medical Institute.

At 2144 GMT debates on the proposed candidacy begin. Many deputies argued that ministers should not be appointed from among deputies of the Supreme Council because voters had elected deputies to work in the Supreme Council.

At 2158 GMT a vote is taken on the proposal to postpone the discussion of the candidacy. By majority vote it is been decided to continue the debate on the proposed candidacy.

At 2200 GMT Algirdas Saudargas takes the floor and declares his readiness to take up the post. Following this, questions begin on his plans on foreign policies. Saudargas says the main stress should be laid on the policy toward East and West. Saudargas gives detailed account of his ideas concerning foreign policies he would pursue if appointed.

At 2233 GMT a vote is taken on the candidacy. By the majority of vote Saudargas has been appointed minister of foreign affairs.

At 2234 GMT Vytautas Landsbergis reports on the international reaction to the Lithuanian matters. The text of the U.S. Senate resolution is read in Lithuanian. The resolution urged the President to recognize the independent republic of Lithuania.

At 2246 GMT discussions focus on the immediate agenda in progress. It is proposed to appoint minister of defense and have a day off on Saturday. There were also various other proposals.

At 2254 GMT the live relay ends.

At 2255 GMT the Vilnius radio announcer apologizes to the listeners, saying the live relay of the session must now be discontinued because technical facilities for broadcasting live so late in the night were no longer available to Lithuanian radio. She said that information on the work of the session would be given in the morning bulletins on Lithuanian radio.

Landsbergis Addresses 23 Mar Council Session

LD2303132790 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1004 GMT 23

[Speech by Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, at the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live relay]

[Text] Good day, esteemed colleagues, deputies. These are very important days to us, and today may be the most important in the great change that we are carrying out. Today is important in that, I hope, we will have a new government and will reach the next level of the formation of the state authorities, when the whole world around us will have to make a decision. Hitherto, we have given time to that world, because we did not have a government.

Meanwhile, we are experiencing uninterrupted pressure from outside, but that outside is in the middle of Lithuania, in the form of a foreign army. The size of this army is ever increasing, it is openly demonstrating that it is armed and ready for anything. Of course, if it intended to do something, it could have done it before now, at any time. Its numbers were sufficient. But we see both exercises and the arrival of new units, we see how they demonstrate their armaments and their presence. We see it as part of psychological warfare, some kind of psychological warfare waged against Lithuania. It is varied. Previously it was expressed by economic threats and warnings; now we see that it has been transferred to another field. It may be that if we withstand this pressure, other means to exert pressure on us will be found, in order to demand that we give up our position.

This position is very clear: Who has sovereignty, who has sovereignty on this land; the people of Lithuania or another state? No one else in the world would accept this second position, except that same state. But it is very strong, and the world is unable to force it to give up its positions. Thus a maneuvering, hesitation, and search for ways and means to solve the problem of that state are evident, so that it is correctly solved from the point of view of humanness and so that state does not, as the saying goes, lose face; so that it solves its internal contradictions.

I have more than once answered people who asked me, and I can repeat it now, that if Mikhail Gorbachev is able to solve that problem of his country that has been so vividly revealed by Lithuania's choice, that is, the problem of the usurpation of the Baltic region in 1940, he would be a really great man in history; he would turn the wheel of history, not with a declaration, not with partial reforms, but with basic, fundamental political and moral reforms. Maybe his opportunities are limited. Maybe there are obstacles and circumstances we do not know about. But we believe in his and the Soviet leadership's wisdom and goodwill, inspite of what we are encountering today.

And today we have a statement published yesterday that reached us as a telegram from Mikhail Gorbachev. It concerns groups of volunteers that should, according to that telegram, replace frontier guards and partially take over the functions of the Internal Affairs bodies. This telegram proposes that immediate measures be taken to cease this activity, the activity of establishing such formations.

I will not comment on the expressions that have various nuances. In the first telegram there were different words. But these past two days, during which we were asked to inform what measures we have taken, provoke concern. This date, 24 March, by accident or design, coincides with the ultimatum date of the military leadership. On 24 March soldiers must return to their units; otherwise they will be persecuted. This persecution has already begun. Yesterday, one soldier who had left his unit was kidnapped in Vilnius. So far we do not know who will be accused of this kidnapping on the street, but we do know that he was taken to the Vilnius commandant's headquarters. Yesterday I phoned Col. (Uzhkopchik) who said that he heard about this case only from me and promised to investigate. To my request that he immediately go to the headquarters to release the illegally arrested citizen of the Republic of Lithuania, he replied that he was carrying out orders from the military leadership only and that I cannot issue such an order. I warned him that he would be responsible for the consequences, because there have been instances when military men, carrying out orders of their superiors, had to face court proceedings. Today, although I asked to be informed, and I was promised such information, no information arrived. It seems, that [words indistinct]. I asked about an hour ago, but he could not tell me anything.

Let us think, comrade deputies, whether it would not be necessary on behalf of the Supreme Council to make a statement on the kidnapping of Lithuanian citizens in Lithuania. [passage indistinct] And such a protest should not be sent only to Moscow.

I dwell on this topic because Mikhail Gorbachev's telegram mentions a certain date, and, as I said, it coincides with the date of the military leadership. This is tomorrow.

Therefore we must work hard today. If necessary, we will have to interrupt the plenary session, work in the commissions and in groups, discuss the minister candidates and form the Council of Ministers today, tonight, and tomorrow morning, so that we can speak to the world also on behalf of our new Council of Ministers.

I would like to limit myself to this. I am writing a reply, a letter to Mikhail Gorbachev. I will be able to inform you about this later, also if I receive some additional information about events in Lithuania, about the views in the Soviet Union and in the world.

Yesterday we received information that a resolution in the U.S. Senate demanding that the president recognize Lithuania's independence and its government did not get the required number of votes. Today we are told that it has passed. I think that we will be able to correct this in the press, but I inform you that maybe soon we will receive reliable information. Thank you for your attention.

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Nominates Ministers

LD2303204890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1936 GMT 23 Mar 90

[By TASS correspondents Vyacheslav Bykov and Kazis Ustsila]

[Text] Vilnius, 23 Mar (TASS)—Deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic devoted today to the formation of the new government of Lithuania.

Kazimiera Prunskiene, prime minister of the republic, introduced candidates for ministerial posts whose candidatures were discussed in the standing commissions of parliament. As a result of the discussion the heads of the following ministries have been nominated: finance, health, internal affairs, and justice, as well as of the newly set up ministries of industry and material resources. Out of the seven members confirmed, four members of the former government have entered the new Cabinet of Ministers.

Decree on Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs

LD2303235190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1911 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Decree by Lithuanian Supreme Council on the Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs read by Deputy Jonas Prapiestis, adopted at the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius, from the live relay]

[Text] A decree by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania on the Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs: The Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic, being mindful of the fact that the Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs, its branches, and services are subordinate to the government of the Lithuanian Republic and implement only the laws of the Republic of Lithuania and decisions of the government of Lithuania, tasks the Lithuanian Council of Ministers to resolve questions regarding the financing of the Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs and its branches and services.

Second, the Lithuanian Council of Ministers is charged with handling the disputes with the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, related to the material resources and other property belonging to the Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs and its branches and services, and to resolve these matters through negotiations with the USSR Government.

Landsbergis Reads Lithuanian Protest Statement

LD2303213190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1924 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Statement read by Vytautas Landsbergis, adopted at the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius from the live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session]

[Text] Esteemed colleagues, as you see and hear, perhaps some of the news that is not substantiated, is being distributed througout the entire Soviet Union, that our appointment of the republic prosecutor is termed as invalid, and the former procurator is considered as still acting in that capacity, is being done on behalf of the highest USSR leadership. While in Lithuania, an organization well known to all, [name indistinct] is also distributing leaflets among the people urging them to disobey republic laws.

Regarding any measures to be employed against such anti-state activity, we should already express our opinion on this today. That is why this statement was written to protest such USSR actions, presentation, condemnations, and how else one may refer to them? You all have this page with the text, my colleagues proposed not to link it to the 1940 aggression, even though there are some identical characteristics present, which according to everyone's opinion, can be left there or else I have another variation of the text, all of you have seen and read this text? It must be read:

The Soviet Union is attempting to create artificial tension in the Lithuanian Republic. New military units of the USSR are brought into the Lithuanian Republic, they display weapons and open defiance, since not one of these actions has been coordinated with the government of the Lithuanian State.

Kidnapping and the seizure of people's property have been recorded as result of USSR military license in Lithuania. Moreover, these residents are urged to defy the loss of the Lithuanian Republic. Unidentified officials are dispatched to Lithuania from the USSR without clearly defined assignments whereas illegal orders are given to Lithuanian officials to carry out one order or another.

Such USSR actions can be described as a continuation of the 1940 aggression against Lithuania. The Lithuanian Supreme Council expresses its protest and regrets over this matter.

Radio Reports Foreign Press Banned in Lithuania

LD2303235590 Vilnius Domestic Service in English 2300 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Radio Vilnius has been informed by a REUTERS correspondent in Moscow that foreign newsmen accredited there are no longer allowed to enter the territory of Lithuania.

'Rumors' of Blockade, Reporters' Detention Viewed

LD2303214490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Report by correspondent P. Orlov; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Apart from facts, rumors are also going around Vilnius, for instance, concerning a possible economic blockade. The enterprises are working today, and trains are delivering freight to the proper addresses. The republic is receiving raw materials from the other regions of the country. There are no interuptions in gasoline supplies to Vilnius. [video shows street scenes, gasoline filling station]

The rumors insistently circulating around the city concerning some kind of special training by the military compelled us to leave Vilnius for half the day. Here we are filming on the territory of a troop unit located not far from the city, 50 km away. During the half day we spent here and at the training range, at the location of this unit and at this depot, we did not discover any traces of special or unusual actions by the armed forces permanently located here. Today, any army action evokes heightened attention. Here again we have a rumor, this time among journalists, that the military had detained reporters of the British television company ITN [Independent Television News] who were on the territory of a military compound. We travelled there, maybe not so much to film as to help if necessary. Nonetheless, it was decided without us. [video shows guns and tanks idle under tarpaulins at unidentified military base]

[Unidentified correspondent, speaking broken Russian] Everything is normal and now everything is in order. Okay. [video shows correspondent talking to camera at military installation, and moving toward vehicle with camera crew]

[Orlov] This is how at times tension on both sides sometimes appears here in an extremely unexpected way, in spite of the entirely proper relations which outwardly have been established. Journalists have quite different work ahead tomorrow; local soviet elections will take place. [video shows polling station]

Sajudis Delegation Holds Warsaw News Conference

LD2303220590 Moscow TASS in English 2149 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw March 24 TASS—A delegation of Sajudis is staying here at the invitation of the Polish Citizens Parliamentary Club. The delegation consists of secretary of the Sajudis Sejm, Vergilius Cepaitis and Vice President of Lithuania's Supreme Soviet Kazimiras Moteika.

After the reception at the Citizens Parliamentary Club, Cepaitis and Moteika gave a news conference. They discussed the destiny of Poles residing in Lithuania and asserted that there would be no territorial problems in case of Lithuania's secession. They said there would no problem, either, about Klaipeda.

They believe that what happens around Lithuania is only the manifestation of the center's striving to secure the way of retreat. "Moscow can tell us what we must and must not do, but the decision rests with us," they said. They reported, specifically, that some 3,000 people are registered in voluntary Lithuanian units.

Landsbergis Deplores Moscow's 'Psychological War'

AU2303181190 Paris AFP in English 1526 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Vilnius, March 23 (AFP)—Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis deplored what he called "psychological war" by Moscow here Friday and urged parliament to form a government quickly to consolidate its recently declared independence. "Today could be one of the most important days in our march toward independence," Mr. Landsbergis told parliament. He urged deputies to hurry and form the new administration by Saturday, the deadline set by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to end plans to set up a Lithuanian self-defense force along the region's borders.

In a statement to the Supreme Soviet, Lithuania's parliament meanwhile appealed to "the nations of the world, to governments and to people of goodwill" to protest against "possible use of force and violence" against Lithuania. "There is a psychological war against Lithuania," Mr. Landsbergis told a plenary session of the newly-elected parliament, "additional troops have arrived in the past few days."

Two thousand Soviet paratroopers poured into the break-away Soviet republic in recent days, the deputy director of the Lithuanian news agency ETA, Henrikas Savickas, told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

Mr. Gorbachev issued a decree Wednesday ordering Lithuanians to surrender all firearms, among other tough measures. On Thursday he told the Lithuanian president to explain within two days how he planned to abolish the "registration of volunteers" to patrol borders with the Soviet Union.

The Saturday deadline, Mr. Landsbergis noted in parliament, is the same one laid down by two senior Soviet officers for Lithuanian deserters to return to the Red Army. He said General Feodor Kuznin, commander of the Baltic military region, and General Vladimir Achalov, commander of the commandos unit, made the demand in a personal meeting with him on Sunday. Almost 1,500 Lithuanian soldiers have deserted from the Soviet Army, according to an earlier report by the Moscow Radio publication INTERFAX. Several deputies told journalists the deserters will be placed under the protection of the Lithuanian Red Cross on Saturday to sensitize international opinion to their plight.

"If Mr. Gorbachev could solve the problem of annexation, he would be a great politician," Mr. Landsbergis said, referring to Lithuanian secession, "but it seems to me that obstacles are being put in his way." "But I still have faith in the good sense and moderation" of Mr. Gorbachev, he added.

In Moscow, Mr. Gorbachev's military adviser Marshal Sergei Akhromiev, warned that Lithuania "cannot not recognize Soviet laws" on desertion. "If deserters are caught, they must be put under arrest in the unit where they are serving," he told reporters at a joint news conference with Admiral William Crowe, former head of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. Lithuanian secession, he said, could only be "carried out in accordance with the Soviet Constitution." "If Lithuania does not recognize Soviet laws, it violates order," the defense aide said, "whether it likes it or not, there exists an established order and it must be respected." He refused to answer questions about Soviet troop movements in Lithuania, saying only that the Soviet Armed Forces job was to "defend perestroyka, that is to say independence and the normal life of society."

Earlier in the day, Lithuania appealed for international support against feared Soviet military intervention and called for "immediate negotiations" with Moscow on independence.

Mr. Landsbergis, in a message to the Supreme Soviet, urged Moscow to "respect Lithuania's right to control" its own borders. Failure to do so would be a blow against "international law and human rights." His comments were in response to Mr. Gorbachev's order to the KGB, in his decree Wednesday, to increase security along Lithuania's border with the rest of the Soviet Union. Mr. Landsbergis said Lithuania was ready to enter into "immediate negotiations" with the Soviet leadership. "Lithuania has emphasised on several occasions, its genuine desire to open immediate negotiations with the Soviet Government to enable each side to argue its case in a frank and rational manner," Mr. Landsbergis said in a message.

Mr. Gorbachev has said he was willing to enter into "dialogue" with the Lithuanians but has rejected the idea of formal "negotiations."

Embassies Told To Recall Staff From Lithuania

AU2303171990 Paris AFP in English 1705 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, March 23 (AFP)—The Soviet Foreign Ministry has told the embassy of a Western country to recall its staff currently in Lithuania within 12 hours, a Western diplomatic source said here Friday.

The source did not identify the embassy.

Other embassies had "apparently" received similar orders, the source added.

Meanwhile a helicopter flew over the Lithuanian capital Vilnius Friday evening, throwing down photocopies of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's presidential decree on Lithuania, as printed in the Communist Party daily Pravda.

The decree, issued Wednesday night, tightened border controls and ordered Lithuanians to surrender firearms.

Objectives of Lithuania Citizens Committee Viewed

PM2303115590 Moscow TRUD in Russian 23 Mar 90 p 1

[Special Correspondent A. Petrov report: "Right to Protection"]

[Text] Vilnius—A rally in Vilnius attended by thousands of people has decided to create a Committee of USSR Citizens in Lithuania. V. Shved, second secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU Platform) provisional Central Committee, was elected chairman. The committee has neither premises nor full-time workers yet—all it has is one telephone at the Lithuanian Communist Party City Committee, and it doesn't stop ringing from dawn to dusk. People ask different sorts of questions.

"What work will the Committee do?" a man phoned to ask.

"In the first instance the protection of citizens' rights as enshrined by the country's Fundamental Law," A. Lanin, manning the phone, replies. "After all, each of us has the right to protection. Our interests will be represented in the USSR Supreme Soviet by deputies from the 'Soyuz' group; they have already agreed..."

Then there was another phone call.

"We live in Vilnius City Soviet Electoral Okrug No. 39. What is the Interfront candidate's name?"

"We have a candidate in each of the 100 electoral okrugs," the duty officer replies. "In Okrug No. 39 we urge people to vote for S. Podkholyuzin, a teacher at secondary school no. 55."

Many of the telephone questions are particularly worrying. Recently some unidentified people began firing at the windows of an apartment block on Zhirmunu Street, which is mainly inhabited by servicemen and their families. Residents reported this incident to the Committee of USSR Citizens in Lithuania and called the militia. Now people are asking: Have the people who did the shooting been found? And, people ask, what does V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, who has repeatedly asserted that human rights in the republic are securely protected by the bourgeois Constitution of 1938, think on this score?

The internal affairs organs have still not reported the results of their investigations to the committee, nor is it known what the republic's Supreme Soviet thinks about the firing on apartments. The parliament still disregards the new social organization.

The committee was inundated with questions after V. Landsbergis' statement that it may be necessary to refuse to accept Moscow Television broadcasts on the grounds that they are "inflammatory." Vilnius' Russian-speaking population is worried that the parliament, without taking their opinions into account, may rob them of their right to watch all-union broadcasts and also deprive them of many other rights. That is why people are turning to the Committee. An enterprise worker complained that he had been unlawfully dismissed from the collective for openly voicing his disagreement with Sajudis policy...

"We plan to set up branches in all cities and rayons of the republic," V. Dobychin, deputy chairman of the Committee of USSR Citizens in Lithuania, said. "Our special commission must take part in the discussion of disputes between the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet and union organs. In brief, with the help of those who do not trust irresponsible politicians, we intend to struggle actively for our rights, the main one of which is the right to decide our destiny ourselves."

Swedish Diplomats 'Not Welcome' in Lithuania

Stockhom Domestic Service in Swedish 1545 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Today it became known that Swedish diplomats are also not welcome in Lithuania. Previously the ban on entry applied to diplomats from the United States and a few Western countries.

[Reporter] It was a general order issued by the Soviet Foreign Ministry yesterday to all embassies. So far it is only known that U.S. diplomats and representatives of a few Western countries are not welcome in Lithuania. This means that the Swedish Foreign Ministry has received information that a Swedish diplomat from the consulate general in Leningrad, who covers Lithuania as well, may not travel there. When it came yesterday, he was not in Lithuania anyway. [passage omitted]

Undersecretary of State Pierre Schori is planning a trip to Lithuania after Easter. Now it is uncertain whether that visit can take place. [passage omitted]

Commentary on Supreme Council's Recent Measures

LD2303130190 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Vitaliy Gurov commentary]

[Text] Commentary is by Vitaliy Gurov on the situation in the Soviet Baltic republic of Lithuania, and this is what he writes:

The events in that republic and the moves in response by the top Soviet leadership are following one another as fast as in a kaleidoscope. I'd like to remind you that almost two weeks ago the Lithuanian parliament decided to restore the Republic's sovereignty. It then drafted and adopted legislative acts that run counter to the Constitution accepted in the USSR.

Under one act, volunteers are being recruited to man a system of protecting Lithuania. Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev sent a telegram to the chairman of Lithuania's parliament, Vytautas Landsbergis, offering [as heard] to take immediate steps to stop all actions to recruit such volunteer units. President Gorbachev also drew his attention to the fact that the republic's parliament is considering a bill on responsibility for anti-state calls, and that is (?out) of the competence of republican bodies of legislation.

Without going into details I can say that this bill is undemocratic. For example, it provides for criminal responsibility even for a call to remain within the USSR. At the same time it's reported from Lithuania that action is now beginning to be taken on an edict by the Soviet president to ensure the rights of Soviet citizens and protection of USSR's sovereignty on the territory of Lithuania.

Border points are being fortified there. There is stricter customs control. Measures are being taken to remove firearms from the population.

There is a mixed reaction to the events in Lithuania. For example, the republic's deputy prime minister, Romualdas Ozalas, has declared that after the Soviet state outlined its attitude to the Molotov-Ribbentrop

Pact, there's no reason any longer for spreading the Soviet Union's sovereignty over Lithuania. This view is of a deputy premier. But it's not accepted by all people in Lithuania. Absolutely contrary views can be heard both from the Lithuanians and from representatives of other peoples living in the republic.

And here's the opinion about the situation in Lithuania by a USSR peoples' deputy, Nikolay Koryugin: [Begin Koryugin recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] Behind the externally attractive and romantic, to some extent, slogans of the current leaders of Lithuania's parliament and state on economic and state independence of the republic, there are no serious calculations and forecasts of what this may lead to, he said. An association of USSR citizens in Lithuania has been set up in Vilnius, the Republic's capital. It aims at ensuring for all citizens of any nationality equal rights and opportunities and the association will protect their interests as those of all citizens of the USSR. [end recording]

'Anti-Soviet' Activities Increased in Lithuania

LD2403145990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Although the leaders of present day Lithuania have been speaking on television and in the newspapers about the order that exists in the republic, there is no occasion in this respect to speak of tranquillity in the minds of the citizens and in political life or of lawful order. The verbose utterances by extreme radicals about the attainment of independence as a lengthy process of restoring the political and economic structures of a sovereign state have long since been forgotten. Half a century of joint residence within the Union with all its links and structures that have come about has been lightly cancelled by the deputies. Constitutional acts that strengthen the legal foundations of our country have been struck out, and, at the session of the Supreme Soviet, USSR laws are being energetically cancelled, a cabinet of ministers is being formed, cadres issues are being hastily tackled, and the question of Lithuania's borders are being discussed. The registration of volunteers to guard them is under way in Sajudis. In all this the positions and assessments of all these actions by the eastern neighbor—that is, by the valid leadership of the USSR, which comprises the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR and the president of the Soviet Union—are being firmly ignored.

The denial of laws cannot fail to cause anarchy in all its manifestations. The activities of all anti-Soviet elements have increased within the Republic. Matters have reached a point where at the session of the republic's Supreme body, Maj. Gen. Taurinskas, chairman of the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of Army, Aviation and Navy [DOSAAF] was threatened and insulted for carrying out the order on handing in for protection the weapons under the organization's jurisdiction. This was followed by a hasty decision to transfer all the organizations of this society to the jurisdiction of the Republic's government. Indeed, there are many such weapons in the Republic. Unfortunately, the demands that they be handed in are not being carried out everywhere. Reserve Lt. Col. Spronaitis, chairman of the Kaunas DOSAAF Town Committee, refused to hand over the weapons in its possession. It was only thanks to the intervention of a military subunit that 873 firearms and 516,000 cartridges were confiscated from the committee.

Attempts by various sorts of activists to seize the buildings of party committees on the CPSU platform have been noted in a number of places. For instance, on 23 March the staff of the Committee for National Minorities attached to the Council of Ministers appeared at the building of a city party committee and began to occupy the work places of staff of the city party committee. As a result, the work of the committee was disorganized and a threat was created to the safe keeping of party archives and documents.

Naturally, these actions cannot prompt anything other than indignation among the sensible population. At numerous rallies and meetings, the working masses of Lithuania are expressing support for Soviet power and the socialist choice, protesting against plans to restore the capitalist system and demanding an end to infringements of citizens' constitutional rights. [passage omitted]

In accordance with the decision of the extraordinary Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies of 15 March and the USSR president's decree on additional measures to guarantee the rights of Soviet citizens and safeguard the sovereignty of the USSR on the territory of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], a plan of urgent measures to monitor the situation in the Lithuanian SSR and react to changes in it is being implemented at the USSR Interior Ministry. According to a USSR Interior Ministry press center report, groups of ministry staff have been sent to that union Republic. Representatives of the USSR Interior Ministry have started assisting local militia bodies in confiscating arms, uncovering and investigating crimes, and safeguarding public order. Internal affairs bodies have already confiscated 5,500 firearms in organizations and institutions and handed them over for storage. [passage omitted]

Deputy Sees Prosperity for Independent Lithuania

LD2403142190 Moscow World Service in Russian 1030 GMT 24 Mar 90

[From the "Soviet Chronicle" feature of the "Soviet Union Day by Day" program; report attributed to INTERFAX]

[Text] USSR People's Deputy Aleksey Kazannik declared in an interview with an INTERFAX correspondent that an independent Lithuania might be able to achieve economic prosperity if it develops outside the USSR. The fact of the matter is, he explained, that the standard of production in the Baltic republics in general is much higher than in the other republics of the Union. Consequently, Lithuania will be able to develop in accordance with the model of Japan or the countries of Western Europe, purchasing raw materials, processing them and selling manufactured goods. It will be able to gain a high profit due to the high quality of its production. If normal relations between Lithuania and the USSR are maintained, the latter's market will be unlimited for Lithuania.

Program To Show Soviet Tanks, Troop Movement

LD2403171890 Vilnius Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] At 2100 hours [1800 GMT] the Panorama news program plans to show a feature film by Western journalist colleagues about the movement of Soviet troops, in particular a column of tanks, which at dawn today wakened the residents of Vilnius and provoked the natural interest of members of parliament, who (?today) worked through until morning in the building of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, past which the column of tanks traveled.

Government Directive on Lithuanian Broadcasting

LD2303201490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, 23 Mar (TASS)—The Soviet Government has drawn attention to the illegal character of the change in the status of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic's [SSR] radio and television.

The government's directive followed the adoption by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet of a law abolishing the Lithuanian SSR's State Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting, thereby removing the republic's television and radio broadcasting from beingpart of the USSR State Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting.

The government pointed out that a unified state-centralized system of radio and television has been developed and exists in the USSR, which makes it possible to take account of the interests and requirements of the multimillion-strong audience of viewers and listeners in all the union republics. The normal functioning of this system provides for the relaying of central radio and television programs, which is also one of the important functions and obligations of republican television and radio broadcasting bodies.

The USSR Council of Ministers has drawn the attention of the Lithuanian SSR's Council of Ministers to the need to strictly complywith the existing set-up in the country.

Landsbergis Addresses 22 Mar Council Session

LD2303114790

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1605 GMT on 22 March, during a live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius, carries a 15-minute speech by Supreme Council chairman Vytautas Landsbergis. After commenting on the spring weather, Landsbergis speaks about the announcement on central television about orders from Gorbachev to return all guns. He says:

"The conflict with our neighboring country, which does not want to recognize our independence, is the essential matter. The first point of the issue of sovereignty is: who owns Snieckus? We see that allegations are being spread that an alien constitution has been in force in Lithuania. And, what is more shocking, it is said that organs of an alien country have been entrusted with the task of interfering, following their own orders, hunting the hunters, and hunting people. Speaking more specifically, I can say that illegal recruitment into armed forces has begun.

"We see that although rather unpleasant conflict situations may arise, our position ought to be [word indistinct] calm, law and order, with additional units for protection of order if such a need arises. And, also, I would think, there should be no use of force in resistance."

He remarks that it is useless to shoot at a tank with a hunting rifle, and continues:

"We resist by other means while preparing official protests. Two such documents have already been prepared today. One has already been sent and the other is being sent right now.

"This is a protest and a response to the latest mistake made by the Soviet Union; the mistake was made in the decision adopted by the extraordinary Third Congress of the USSR People's Deputies. Thus, the legal basis of our position is given in this protest and explanation. It shows the absolute illegality of our opponents."

Landsbergis says this is a sizeable document. He does not identify the addressee. He goes on:

"Another document which has already been sent is an appeal to the Belorussian Supreme Soviet, addressed to Nikolay Dementey, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium."

Landsbergis reads the text of the appeal:

"Esteemed chairman, the republic of Lithuania is deeply concerned about the speech broadcast on USSR Central Television from the Third USSR People's Congress by Vladimir Semenov, first secretary of Grodno oblast, in which he said that Belorussia claims part of the territory of the Republic of Lithuania.

"The opinion voiced by V. Semenov increased our concern, especially since persons whose identities are not known to the Lithuanian government have recently been roaming the border of Lithuania and Belorussia, putting psychological pressure on the local residents and telling them that Lithuanian territory could be handed over to the Belorussian SSR in the future.

"We ask you to answer whether V. Semenov was authorized to speak on behalf of the government when he said—and I quote—that the Belorussian SSR will resolutely demand the return to the Belorussian SSR of all parts of its territory which had been given earlier to the Lithuanian SSR. Unquote.

"Esteemed Chairman, we would like you to inform the government of the Belorussian SSR that Lithuania has declared that it would adhere to universally recognized principles of international law and the article in the Final Helsinki Act which confirms the inviolability of European borders.

"We hope that the Belorussian SSR, as a member of the UN Organization, will adhere to the approved norms of international law which have been laid out in the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act, and especially those decisions which guarantee the integrity of the territory of states. In the light of current events, the Republic of Lithuania wishes the Supreme Soviet and the government of the Belorussian SSR to confirm that the Belorussian SSR has no claims on the territory of the Republic of Lithuania.

"The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania also urges the Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian SSR to discipline those citizens of the Belorussian SSR who intimidate or incite the residents of Lithuania who live near the Lithuanian- Belorussian border."

Following this, Landsbergis says that as a UN member, Belorussia has specifically drawn up geographical credentials. He says that if Belorussia wants to change its territorial borders then, obviously it will have to be reregistered at the United Nations.

He goes on to say that a decision was made at the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet that an appeal should be made to nations and governments of states about the military threat which is becoming imminent.

Next, he says: "Our immediate task as I see it would be to form a government. If I am not mistaken, opinions were voiced saying that a period of one month would be needed for this. It seems to me that even one week is too much for this in our present situation."

He goes on to mention the deadline of 24 March, by which time deserters from the Soviet Armed Forces must return to military units or else arrests will begin.

Landsbergis mentions that to have a new government would be more advantageous from the international point of view as well as at home. He also proposed to work day and night until the government is formed. He says that this must be done by Saturday morning:

"If we had a new government tomorrow or the day after tomorrow the attitude toward us in the world would change considerably. This attitude has begun to change considerably already since Moscow has made gross mistakes. World opinion is turning to our advantage. Such news is coming from the West."

He goes on to speak about the letter from U.S. congressmen to the president and notes that the Main Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania raised a fund of half a million dollars which the current government of Lithuania now is allowed to use. He states that the Danish Government sent a telegram to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania expressing hope that negotiations with the Soviet Union would end successfully and that a group of famous Lithuanian architects sent a telegram to the Supreme Council, saying that they would design the embassy building of the state that would be the first to recognize the independence of Lithuana free of charge.

Speaking on an 11-member group due to arrive in Lithuania to inspect the republic's Procurator's Office, Landsbergis said that the weakest point in the republic's entire legal system was that in fact the republic does not have its own procurator general. According to the Constitution, the procurator general should be appointed by the Supreme Council. Vidutis Barauskas, the current procurator general, was appointed by the All-Union procurator general and is legally subordinated to him. This means that the current procurator general was appointed by an alien state. He notes that V. Barauskas has not agreed to be appointed procurator general by the Supreme Council of this Republic.

"Using my powers I would like to propose that you appoint the procurator general of the Republic of Lithuania. It would be very good if we could do it right now, so that tomorrow officials from Moscow would find a genuine and strong procurator general of this republic who would have our confidence and mandates to talk to them on equal terms and to receive them as guests, depending on what they want or wish."

Landsbergis proposes Arturas Paulaskas, current first deputy procurator general, for the post; after submissions and questions from the deputies, A. Paulauskas is appointed to the post of procurator general.

Landsbergis concludes his speech.

Future of Lithuanian Developments Discussed

PM2303145790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Mar 90 First Edition p1

[Report by Captain 3d Rank V. Yermolin, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent: "Where Is Landsbergis Steering His 'Ship'?"]

[Text] Lithuania—The Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU Platform) Central Committee plenum fitted into four hours of work. By present standards, communists said, even this was an impermissible luxury: Real action has the greatest value in the present situation. As M. Burokevicius, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU platform) Central Committee, said, the social forces in opposition to one another in the republic have made their standpoints extremely clear. We are in fact talking about an unconstitutional revolution. Communists must proceed from this in their work.

The leaders of party organizations in Kaunas, Snechkus, and other cities and rayons of Lithuania talked about the strong pressure—which contains elements of moral terror—to which communists are being subjected by officials and by frenzied anti-Soviets on the street. This is what P. Matulaytis, secretary of the Anikshchyayskiy Rayon party bureau, had to say on the subject, for example:

"After Landsbergis allowed himself to make several crude attacks on communists who have remained loyal to the CPSU platform when speaking from the session rostrum, that same evening I received a telephone call from unidentified persons who threatened me and my family with reprisals 'as traitors to the Lithuanian people.' Other communists in my rayon have found themselves the subject of similar threats and foul abuse. People are being intimidated in rural areas: They are constantly worked on by 'Sajudis' emissaries. Soviet newspapers stopped coming here a long time ago. But we have been visiting people in their homes and trying to convince them that Soviet power is still alive."

Yes, fears for their future and concern for their families are now forcing many people to surrender their party membership cards. But facts of a different kind were also given at the plenum. Since 12 March, some party organizations have been receiving applications from people wishing to join the party: Given the situation today, these are real acts of courage.

The plenum also discussed questions concerning the party's tactical struggle in present-day conditions. Strikes, stoppages, and boycotts have again been called to life from the arsenal of tried and tested class methods of struggle. Indeed, as was pointed out at a rally on Sunday in support of the decisions taken by the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the conflict in Lithuania is concerned not so much with nationality as with class.

Among the practical matters discussed was the question of reviving theLithuanian communists' press organ, SOVETSKAYA LITVA. At present, its material base is being used to publish EKHO LITVY, the sociopolitical newspaper of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers. We hope that in the near future subscribers to SOVETSKAYA LITVA will be able to read their newspaper again.

The plenum concluded its work by adopting a series of documents, including a statement "On the Political Situation in Lithuania."

In his now traditional daily review of political realities in the republic, V. Landsbergis today, 21 March, described the decisions of the third Congress of USSR People's Deputies concerning Lithuania as "logically absurd and legally unfounded." Moreover, the chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet expressed regret that his reply to M.S. Gorbachev had been couched in too delicate language: According to him, it would have been worth indicating to the other side the intolerability of certain actions and including a critical section in his reply.

V. Landsbergis described Central Television's relaying of the rally held in Vilnius on Sunday as provocative. He believes that henceforth Central Television should stop broadcasting in Lithuania.

No statement by the chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet is without reference to news from Washington. On this occasion, Landsbergis informed people that the White House had spoken in favor of intergovernmental talks between Lithuania and the USSR. "We must be grateful to the United States," Landsbergis said. "This is a serious warning to the Soviet government." Few people here are in any doubt about the pro-American leanings of the head of the republic Supreme Soviet.

As far as attitudes to the Soviet Union are concerned, here the tone is gradually acquiring steely notes—something evidenced by statements by Landsbergis himself and other Lithuanian parliamentary deputies. I will single out just one such statement. Let us ask for nothing from the USSR, it was said today from the session rostrum: Let us act so that the USSR has to approach us with requests. In particular, it was suggested that the monetary unit from bourgeois Lithuania, the lit, be introduced on an equal footing with the ruble. Wages should be paid in rubles at enterprises under union jurisdiction. But the lit should be used at republic-level enterprises. Moreover, all goods in short supply should be sold only in exchange for lits.

The local press has just published a statement issued by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet "On the Status of the Armed Forces in Lithuania." This laconic document essentially contains nothing new. It makes the same old claims: The Soviet Army is an instrument of aggression and occupation; it uses the republic's land, waters, and airspace without justification; and the army's presence is causing economic, ecological, psychological, and political damage. This is followed by an appeal not to show any hostility to military servicemen and their families. The statement is signed by V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet.

One logically asks the question: Where is he steering his 'ship'?

Lithuanian Political Situation Viewed

90UN1228A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 16 Mar 90 p 4

[Correspondent R. Motskus report: "Lithuania Is Abuzz..."]

[Text] Decrees and laws of the new Supreme Soviet are raining down like an avalanche on the inhabitants of Lithuania. A whole number of appeals to the people, national communities, the leadership of the country and peoples of the world has been adopted.

The parliamentary majority is held by deputies supported by Sajudis. The independent Lithuanian Communist Party is in a minority and has become a parliamentary faction.

One decree says: Considering that in accordance with the instrument on the restoration of an independent Lithuanian state, Lithuania is not henceforward bound by any commitments to the USSR Constitution, the USSR people's deputies elected in Lithuania are deprived of their status. In addition, it has been determined that Lithuanian citizens do not have the right without a special decision of the Supreme Soviet to participate in the work of the highest organs of state power of other states, including the USSR. A rash, controversial, and quite undemocratic decision, in my view.... It has also been decided that all state enterprises, establishments, and organizations of union and union-republic jurisdiction will switch to that of the Lithuanian Republic, but that contracts with partners in the USSR will remain in effect.

And Lithuania is abuzz. The first crisis arose at the time of the election of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet. V. Landsbergis, a 58-year-old musicologist, was elected, as we have reported. But the trouble is that the vast majority of inhabitants of all political views supported A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and former chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Many voters believe that Sajudis has simply tricked them. The collection of signatures in support of A. Brazauskas is underway everywhere. As the newspaper RESPUBLIKA reported today, approximately 300,000 of them have already been collected according to unofficial information. The Sajudis people are attempting by all means and methods, with the help of ministers of religion even, for example, to damp down the passions. But I believe that this question is not yet done with. The more so in that a style of intolerance and a real witch hunt have been demonstrated by the new authorities in respect of D. Shnyukas, chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, whom it was intended driving out of his job. The public, the Lithuanian press and the Journalists Union view this case as a most flagrant violation of the press act (there is such in Lithuania) and an endeavor to put pressure on the mass media. And how many fine words there have been about pluralism, about freedom of the press.... All this is exciting the mind and inducing reflection. At the last meeting of party activists in Vilnius many people expressed the thought that the rashness, shrillness (the session addressed Comrade Gorbachev as none other than "His Excellency" and "Mr"), arrogance, and political bias of certain deputies would objectively harm Lithuania and its people. From its first days the inhabitants of Lithuania began to discern in the work of the republic Supreme Soviet tricks which are fraught with unpredictable consequences.

And the news is streaming in. The leadership of the republic Internal Affairs Ministry, for example, has reported that its officers will continue to wear their former uniform, but that a new one, with national markings, is being put together urgently. K. Prunskene, who had only just been appointed interim chairman of the Council of Ministers, has tendered her resignation from the independent Lithuanian Communist Party.

And one further piece of news. Lithuanian athletes will not take part in the official championships of the USSR. This decision was made by the State Committee for Physical Culture and Sport and Lithuania's National Olympic Committee.

The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet is now in recess. Having sensed the inhabitants' disquiet, the deputies have departed for their constituencies.

Popular Fronts Call for USSR-Vilnius Talks

AU2503181990 Paris AFP in English 1632 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, March 25 (AFP)—The powerful nationalist movements in the three Baltic states Sunday called for Moscow to open government-to-government negotiations with the rebel state of Lithuania. Lithuania declared its independence from the Soviet Union on March 11 and has since then been under mounting pressure from Moscow to reverse its stance. Soviet military convoys this weekend were sent through the Lithuanian capital Vilnius.

A statement issued by the Baltic Council, a consultative body with members from Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia, called on the Kremlin to "stop its military intimidation and pressure" against Vilnius and open "constructive negotiations on a government-to-government basis". The Baltic nationalists said they envisaged "possible joint action" to counter "attempts by destructive forces" to impose a state of emergency in the region, but did not give details.

Local elections in the three republics had "clearly shown" that their people shared "a common objective: the independence of their states".

The statement was signed by nationalist leaders such as Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis, who heads the Sajudis movement, Daynis Ivans, of the Latvian Popular Front and Mart Tarmak of the Estonian Popular Front. They called on all democratic movements and parties to support the "efforts of the Baltic peoples" to reach "total independence" through "parliamentary means".

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were independent between the two world wars until their annexation by Moscow in 1940.

Baltic Council Views Situation in 3 Republics

LD2603094690 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0700 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] A meeting of the Baltic Council took place in Vilnius on 24 March. Edgar Savisaar, Mart Tarmak, and Kullo Arjakas, members of the Estonian People's Front; Dainis Ivans, Janis [name indistinct], members of the Latvian People's Front; and Vytautas Landsbergis, Romualdas Ozolas, Virgilijus Cepaitis, Bronius Kuzmickas, and Mecys Laurinkus, members of the Lithuanian Sajudis took part in the meeting.

Opinions were exchanged on the political situation in all three Baltic republics after the declaration of independence by the Republic of Lithuania and the elections to the Supreme Soviets of Estonia and Latvia.

A declaration on the situation of the Baltic states was adopted at the meeting. It reads: The Baltic Council states that elections to the Supreme Soviets in all three Baltic republics were convincingly won by candidates who support the restoration of state independence. This indicates that the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian nations express their will in the aspiration for a unanimous objective, which is the independence of their states.

Therefore, the Baltic Council believes that any attempts by internal or external forces to discontinue the democratic parliamentary processes would be mercilessly directed against the will of the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian people.

The Baltic Council urges the Government of the USSR to stop exerting military pressure and intimidation on the people of Lithuania as well as inciting the citizens of this republic to violate the laws of the state of Lithuania, and to start constructive negotiations between the two states.

On behalf of the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian people's movements the Baltic Council appeals to all the public movements and democratic parties to give overall support to the efforts of the Baltic people to restore full state independence by peaceful parliamentary means.

Possible joint actions were discussed by the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian people's fronts in the event destructive forces try to destabilize the situation in order to have a military curfew introduced.

Popular Movements Urge End to Moscow Pressure

LD2503175890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1720 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] Vilnius (ADN)—The People's Fronts of the two Soviet Baltic Republics Estonia and Latvia and the Lithuanian Sajudis movement have called on the USSR Government to end "its military intimidation and its pressure" on Lithuania. At a meeting in Vilnius their representatives, combining in a "Baltic Council," spoke in favor of negotiating jointly with Moscow, it has emerged from a joint declaration. The peoples of the three republics have clearly stated their desire for independence in the recent elections, the declaration says.

The declaration was signed by Vytautas Landsbergis, president of Sajudis and the Lithuanian parliament, and by Dainis Ivans and Mart Tarmak of the Latvian and Estonian People's Fronts, respectively.

Ryuytel Interviewed on Situation in Lithuania

LD2603143190 Prague CTK in English 1314 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Tallinn, March 26 (CTK correspondent)—President of the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet Arnold Ryuytel has told CTK that the decision of the new Lithuanian parliament to proclaim independence is quite logical and reflects the desire of this republic for independence and freedom.

The Estonian people support this decision of the Lithuanian Republic, he stressed. The fact that Moscow has taken a number of warning measures is unexpected for the Soviet Union. "In my view the restructuring means mainly the right of every man and the whole nation to express their view", Arnold Ryuytel said.

The problems connected with the declaration of Lithuania's independence must be settled only at a negotiating table. It is necessary to discuss whether the desire of the Lithuanian people for freedom is justified and discuss also specific economic and other relations.

Other Baltic republics should be approached in the same way, as the present developments in Lithuania are also characteristic, for instance, of Estonia, Arnold Ryuytel said. The Estonian path towards independence is, however, different from that of Lithuania. It rests in starting talks with the center and setting a political and state status for Estonia. "We must take very prudent steps with respect to legal and political points of view", he added.

Lithuanian Delegation To Visit Estonia 24 Mar

LD2303153790 Tallin Domestic Service in Estonian 1000 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Summary] At the invitation of the Estonian Committee [body elected at the Estonian Congress on 12 March] a Lithuanian Government delegation will arrive in Tallinn on 24 March for talks on cooperation.

Rally To Support Lithuania Planned for 25 Mar

LD2303110690 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Summary] A representative of the Estonian Green Party has reported that a consultative meeting of Green parties has ended in Budapest. It adopted a decision to demand from the government that the Lithuanian state be recognized as soon as possible.

The Estonian National Front is organizing a meeting this coming Sunday [25 March] in support of the recognition of the Lithuanian state.

Estonian Party To Split With CPSU in October

LD2503164890 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1600 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] The Communist Party in Estonia has resolved to break its links with Moscow. The decision was taken at the party's extraordinary Congress in Tallinn. But the independent Communist Party of Estonia will choose another and more cautious way than its party colleagues in Lithuania, our correspondent reports.

[Correspondent] By 432 votes to three, the Estonian Communist Party decided to release itself from the Soviet Communist Party. The approximately 200 Russian participants, who did everything to sabotage the congress with endless discussion, took no part at all in the vote. It is also clear that they will be forming their own wing, remaining within the Soviet Communist Party, and the congress thus constitutes the beginning of a struggle for the extensive assets and the party organization, a struggle that will be both long and bitter. The Estonian Communist Party is thus choosing, as the Lithuanian party did earlier, to break with Moscow, even though the formal break will not be until October. But the Estonian Communist Party will choose a considerably more cautious way to national independence than what the Lithuanians have done. The Estonian communists want first to negotiate with Moscow—only when those opportunities have been exhausted will they consider declaring Estonia independent. But many Estonians are, of course, of a different opinion, and want to see a harder line. Which way Estonia chooses will be clear only when the new parliament meets for the first time in a few weeks.

Split Discussed

PM2603145790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Dispatch by IZVESTIYA correspondent Leonid Levitskiy under the "Direct Link" rubric: "Two Communist Parties in Estonia"]

[Text] Tallinn—The split which was talked about for so long within the Estonian Communist Party has occurred. E. Sillari, newly elected first secretary of the autonomous Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, congratulated the delegates and announced the conclusion of the congress' work at 2345 hours local time on Sunday [25 March].

It was at 0010 hours on Monday [26 March] that delegates disagreeing with the decision on the Estonian Communist Party's autonomy announced a continuation of the 20th Party Congress' work. Some members of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee were elected two hours later (the rest will be elected or co-opted later). The Estonian republic party organization's activity as a detachment of the CPSU will continue.

So, what actually happened on the third day of the congress? At the insistence of the majority of delegates, what seemed to have been the agreed title of the main document was changed. Instead of "Program for the Renewal of the Estonian Communist Party, in the Form of Estonian Communist Party Program Theses for the 28th CPSU Congress," it now reads "The Estonian Communist Party in the New Conditions (Program)." The former title made it possible to restrain the two wings of a single organization which had drawn quite far apart. A totally new phenomenon was beginning to take shape in our social life—two major factions would have been formed within the party.

This was said with adequate certainty in the declaration adopted by the majority of congress delegates. "The 20th Congress of the Estonian Communist Party declares that an autonomous Estonian Communist Party was created 25 March. It is incumbent on the Communist Party Central Committee to elaborate and publish within 10 days the Communist Party's statutes for the transitional period which will remain in force until the next congress, and to lay down procedures for the processing of membership applications, membership records, and payment of membership dues. Members of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and Secretariat representing party organizations which did not support the Estonian Communist Party Program at the 20th congress will lead the activity of these party organizations and represent their interests during the transitional period." Even the change in the structure of party leadership was also, to a certain extent, in line with the actual existence of factions. The congress deemed it necessary to introduce the post of party chairman. V. Valjas, now already former first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, was elected to that post. The Secretariat had been envisaged (according to the delegates' words; there are no documents) to comprise four secretaries, two from each of the two factions.

The delegates finally split on the new program, the program of a party that is different from the CPSU. One-third of congress delegates could not accept two fundamental provisions—the Estonian Communist Party's autonomy and Estonia's state independence.

Supporters of the Communist Party's autonomy did not adhere to the parity principle when voting for candidate members of the Central Committee. Four leaders of those who advocate unity of the CPSU and the federation were not elected to the Central Committee.

The first plenum of the autonomous Estonian Communist Party Central Committee tried to somehow remedy the situation by putting forward a compromise proposal. Its essence was to co-opt a further four Central Committee members. A. Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, called for a decision to be made without emotions, considering primarily the interests of the CPSU as a whole.

Nonetheless, both sides were in the grips of passions and the compromise proposal was not adopted.

Estonia now has two communist parties. One of them is the autonomous Estonian Communist Party. The other is an Estonian Communist Party as a detachment of the CPSU. A. Gusev and P. Panfilov were elected secretaries of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

Consequences of Split in Estonian Party Viewed

LD2403182690 Moscow TASS in English 1749 GMT 24 Mar 90

[By TASS correspondents Albert Maloveryan and Aleksandr Kharchenko; quotation marks as received]

[Text] Tallinn March 24 (TASS)—The 20th congress of Estonia's communists, which opened yesterday, continues to discuss the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee's political report which was made by First Secretary of the Party Central Committee Vajno Vaelas.

The delegates represent the 100,000-strong party organisation of that Baltic republic. Thirty-one percent of the delegates are engaged in industry, construction, transport, communication and public services. Workers account for 5.4 percent, while farmers—12.2 per cent.

The average age of delegates is 46 years. 81.2 percent of the delegates have higher education. A total of 16 nationalities are represented at the congress, with Estonians accounting for 55.7 per cent.

Delegates speak out their attitude to the Estonian Communist Party reorganization program about which it was said in the political report. If the program is passed, a transitional period will begin, in the course of which each party member will have to decide what ideas he will proceed from and what organizational structure he will belong to. Actually, they need to answer the fundamental question: How relationships with the Soviet Communist party will be built?

The political report actually says about establishment of an independent communist party. To avoid "the Lithuanian variant," a tactical move is proposed, with the announcement of a transitional period during which a new party could be formed.

Congress delegate Yuriy Tolmachev, first secretary of the Sillamae District party committee believes that "there is no unity amongst communists in Estonia." "A compromise will be found, if emotions do not prevail over reason, over profound comprehension of consequences of a split (which will benefit neither of the sides).

Though the time for the debate on the report has already ran out, the discussion has not actually begun. The floor was mainly taken by representatives of the Russian language speaking community. Nothing has yet been said by those who favor the Estonian Communist Party's full independence.

"The congress is taking place in a very complex political situation. A whole number of political forces appeared on the scene, this setting new much more complex tasks to the Estonian Communist Party," Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Andrey Girenko, attending the congress, said in an interview with the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIA. He shared his first impressions about the work of the party forum. "The tension that appeared on the first day of the forum's work, is attributed to the polarization of opinions and positions within the party itself, this also reflecting the mood of the masses. Extreme tension can hardly promote thoughtful and serious work," he said.

"The political report expresses the thought of the need to work towards Estonia's state independence and independence of the Estonian Communist Party. This largely determines the atmosphere of the congress.

Answering the question about a possibility of division of the Estonian Communist Party, Gerenko said that a split would be detrimental to the party's prestige. At the congress it was said that the party's strength is in its independence. But the strength of the Estonian Communist Party, just as of communist parties of other union republics, stems from their ability to exert political influence, and this largely depends on whether they are within the Soviet Communist Party, the party whose policy is well-considered. A split within the party would have disastrous consequences," Girenko said.

The Estonian Communist Party congress continues its work.

Estonian Draft Supports Party, Independence

LD2403174890 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1500 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Of the 735 delegates elected to the 20th Estonian Communist Party congress, 640 had gathered at the Sakala cultural center by the beginning of the second working day. The session was chaired by Mikk Titma, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. He announced that in accordance with the reduction of the meeting of heads of delegations, today the floor would be given only to those who represent a whole delegation. [passage omitted]

Among those who were given the floor was Peeter Sookruus, director of Estonian radio, who proposed sending greetings and a telegram of support in the name of the congress to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic. The auditorium reacted to this proposal with applause. [passage omitted]

The floor was then given to Jaak Allik, chairman of the Congress Editorial Commission. He announced that the Editorial Commission had been working on three documents: the reorganization program of the Communist Party of Estonia; the resolution of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Estonia on a historical and political assessment of party activity; and the address of the delegates of the 20th Congress to all Communist Party of Estonia members.

The reorganization program for the Communist Party of Estonia was first scrutinized. Its draft supports the independent Communist Party of Estonia as well as an independent Estonia. By a majority vote, the draft program was adopted as a basis. A discussion of proposals made by the Editing Commission followed.

The work of the congress continues.

Estonian Russians Form Party Loyal to Moscow

LD2603100190 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 0930 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] The Russian population in Estonia has set up its own communist party loyal to Moscow. Representatives of the Intermovement, which took part in the Estonian Communist Party congress during the weekend, last night established their own party in response to the Estonian Communist Party's decision to separate from the CPSU. The wing loyal to Moscow pushed through several of its demands at the Estonian Communist Party congress, which ended yesterday. They also got their own representatives onto the party's Central Committee and other leading bodies.

25 Mar Estonian Party Congress Detailed

LD2603103390 Tallin Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We begin the summing up of the day with an event, providing the answer (?to which) the Communist Party of Estonia Congress was busy for the third day. So, what will become of the Communist Party of Estonia? Juri Hansen reports:

[Hansen] The work of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Estonia is drawing to a close. Today showed once more that (?too much hurry) does not (?produce results), and that sometimes it is more useful to make a break and to think over the situation which has arisen and has to be arrived at in order to choose a sensible way of conduct.

Yesterday evening it was thought that the work of the congress would be completed after midnight. Luckily the delegates had enough of a peaceful mind to agree to extend the work of the congress to the next day. Now, when the long working day is almost over, it is clear that with the compressed time yesterday, no kind of sensible decisions could be reached.

The morning sitting began with (?remembering) the victims of the deportations of 25 March 1949.

Andrey Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, put the main question of today in the following words: Will the Communist Party of Estonia emerge as one party or split into parts? Yesterday, Girenko did not achieve any contact at all in the hall, because he read his prepared text without taking into consideration the circumstances of where he was or his audience.

Today the man spoke freely, without a text, so that his opinion reached its goal, that the corrected (?text) of the program of the Communist Party of Estonia provides an opportunity for discussion, and the party does not [words indistinct]. He bore in mind the standpoint of the draft program that the Communist Party of Estonia will transform itself into an independent party within the political system of Estonia.

However, this will take place during the organizational period of self-determination, which will begin with the 20th congress and will end with the fall congress.

Such a compromise version does not satisfy (?absolutely everybody). Especially active was (Igor Shepelevits). He hurried immediately to ask how long a period would communist Girenko need to define his belonging to the CPSU. Andrey Girenko gave a sound answer that such a problem did not exist for him, but this did not mean that many members of the Communist Party of Estonia did not face such a question.

Chairman of the session Mikk Titma, proposed to put the draft document to a vote. [passage omitted] Eventually the draft program was put to a secret ballot, in order to [word indistinct] the document's [words indistinct].

[Words indistinct] the attitude of the congress toward independence of the Communist Party of Estonia became clear.

The same question at the congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania was put to a vote clearly [words indistinct], but in Tallinn [words indistinct]. But I will not begin to trouble you with [words indistinct].

A total of 421 delegates voted for an independent Estonian Communist Party; 232 delegates wished to see it [remain] within the family of the CPSU. This result could have been (?predicted) by the division of forces which became clear yesterday.

The grouping which voted against an independent Estonian Communist Party requested a 15-minute recess in order to confer among themselves, and this was granted. When the sitting reassembled (Shepelevits) announced in the name of the faction [words indistinct] that the [words indistinct] belonging to it would not take part in the voting on the program of the Communist Party of Estonia. The program was put to a vote. There were 432 votes for, three against, and [words indistinct].

When all the delegates were in the hall, and the presence count correct, then (?despite) the absence of the 15-minute faction [words indistinct].

At 1313 an independent Communist Party of Estonia (?was born).

The hall [word indistinct] the events [words indistinct] and, of course, in differing factions. [passage indistinct]

Six months are envisioned for the transition period, and then [words indistinct] (?because), beginning today, the Communist Party of Estonia as an independent [words indistinct].

It was (?unanimously) confirmed that the adoption of the program of the Communist Party of Estonia did indeed signify the party's independence.

At 1448 (Shepelevits) said he understood that an (?independent) Communist Party of Estonia had been born. He congratulated the new party and expressed a wish for cooperation.

At 1507 when candidates for the new Central Committee were proposed, Jaak Allik said that there is as yet no independent Communist Party of Estonia, as the transition period for the formation of an independent party had begun.

Eleven minutes later (Shepelevits) asked whether he would be proposed as a candidate member of the Central Committee, is the Communist Party of Estonia independent or not, and how [words indistinct]. Having heard from Mikk Titma that an independent Communist Party of Estonia would be proclaimed, he cancelled his candidature. The same is true of Yarovoy and some other (?candidates).

During the lunch-break and while waiting for the ballot the 15-minute faction held a heated consultation with both their and the opposing side's representatives.

[Words indistinct] and on the other side Jaak Allik [word indistinct] a breaking up of the Communist Party of Estonia. The 15-minute faction was promised the positions of two secretaries in the new Central Committee.

I do not believe there is any reason for a nervous attitude toward what is taking place and to see in it, it does not matter from which of the two sides, a betrayal of anybody's interests. It is possible that today the first real step was taken on the road of overcoming the misunderstanding which has arisen among groups of different nationalities. Perhaps it was a laying of foundations for the so-called Russian policy, which until now has only been talked about. In any case, there is no reason to (?hurry) with impatient decisions and activity. Let us look calmly what will come of that.

More about the congress: Vayno Valjas was elected chairman of the Communist Party of Estonia. This was a new position that was established. The chairman represents the Communist Party of Estonia, coordinates cooperation with other parties, and deals with other matters, but he is not a member of either the Bureau or the Central Committee. Vayno Valjas agreed to accept this position, but refused a salary. Valjas was elected by 586 votes for, one against, and two abstained.

A resolution of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Estonia, a historical-political assessment of the Communist Party of Estonia's activity, was also adopted.

Elections to the Central Committee are now taking place.

Another topic at today's congress was the question of Lithuania. A proposal was made to adopt a greetings telegram to Lithuania.

Further on Estonian Party Congress Proceedings

LD2503164190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Report from Tallinn by unidentified TASS correspondent]

[Text] During yesterday evening's session of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Estonia [CPE] discussion was continued of the political report by Valjas, first secretary of the CPE Central Committee. Opinion was divided on the question of the appraisal of the work of the party Central Committee and as to whether the congress should appraise the work of the party Central Committee for the period from 1988 until today or only for the time during which Valjas headed the republican party organization.

Another opinion was also expressed, namely that the work of the CPE Central Committee should not be appraised, since the most important thing today was to draft the program of activity for the future. In the end it was nevertheless decided to make a satisfactory assessment of the activity of the CPE Central Committee: 441 delegates voted for this, with 235 delegates voting against. The participants in the congress conducted a debate on the draft resolution on the historical and political assessment of the activity of the CPE, the appeal from the 20th CPE Congress to all CPE members, and the program of reorganization of the CPE.

The overwhelming majority of delegates were of the opinion that within the CPSU there should be no unequal relations. The communist parties should establish among one another links on an equal footing both vertically and horizontally.

Speaking at the congress was Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The congress is continuing its work.

TASS Reports Independent Estonian Party

LD2503170190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1612 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] Tallinn, 25 Mar (ETA-TASS)—The 20th Congress of the Communist Party [CP] of Estonia ended its work here today by setting up an independent CP of Estonia and adopting its program. A transitional period begins tomorrow. This will last until October of this year, when, after the 28th Congress the CPSU, a new Congress of the Estonian CP will be held. A final decision on relations with the CPSU will be adopted at this congress.

Vayno Vyalyas, who has for almost the last two years been first secretary of the Estonian CP Central Committee, was elected party chairman by a majority of votes—589 of the 669 delegates present in the hall. According to his status, for which 522 delegates voted, he now possesses large powers and is subordinate directly to the Congress, not being a member of the leading organs—the Bureau and Central Committee.

Although dramatic situations that could have led to a schism in the Communist Party into those who support an independent Estonian CP and those who believe it necessary to remain within the ranks of the CPSU did occur during the congress' three days' work, it was able to form the leading bodies of the party, which include representatives from both sides, in accordance with the principles of parity.

Seventeen delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress were elected at the congress. Another nine delegates from a number of party organizations representing primarily Estonia's Russian-speaking population are to be elected later by those party organizations.

The program adopted by the 20th Congress of the Estonian CP defined the statute of the republic's Communist Party and the main long-term and current tasks for getting Estonia out of its crisis. In the vote on this program, 432 delegates were "for" and 228 representatives of the Russian-speaking party organizations took no part whatsoever in the voting.

'No Unity' Seen in Estonian Communist Congress

LD2403213990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Mar 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Estonia is being held in Tallinn. Our special correspondents report:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent A. Barkhatov] The prediction that there would be many speeches and conversations at the congress, but that virtually all of them would simply repeat what was stated long ago at the plenums, has proved totally justified. Most of the delegates of Estonian nationality supported the strategic line of consolidating the independence of the party and the republic as a sovereign state, even if, as a consequence of serious disagreements with the CPSU and the union federation, there is a sharp deteriation in the republic's economy.

[Congress delegate H. (Sammalparg)] I do not regard our decisions aimed at creating an independent Communist Party of Estonia with its own program, rules, and membership as destructive or damaging. We picture them as creating a new association of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from the bottom upwards, that is, in this way to end up with the federalization of the CPSU.

[Barkhatov] In his speech Comrade Valyas, first secretary of the Communist Party of Estonia, remarked that the Estonian delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress should speak as the representatives of a united force and should speak there of the program of action they have chosen. But as the voting on whether to adopt the final document showed, a significant number of the communists refused point blank to raise their mandate cards, as a sign of protest. And even though the Central Committee's work in the period under review was assessed as satisfactory by a majority of votes, the arguments did not cease.

[Congress delegate H. (Barabaner)] The slogans put forward were extremely ambiguous and sometimes even provocative. For instance, one slogan was "Priority to the indigenous people!" But there was no explanation as to what lies behind that. If that is the preference of the state, then that is racism, apartheid; if that is defense of cultural traditions, then the slogan is a correct one. But when it goes essentially unexplained, it is fundamentally provocative.

Another slogan: "Let us be poor, but free!" Immediately I start to wonder: Who will be poor and who will be free? Will everyone be poor, and will everyone be free?

[Barkhatov] Essentially, then, the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Estonia has shown that there is no unity in the republican party. And those main issues of the separation of the party from the CPSU and the republic from the Soviet Union are what causes the most disagreement. [end recording]

The congress has taken the decision to continue with its work tomorrow. The leading bodies are to be elected and the final documents adopted.

Estonian Party Independence Expected 24 Mar

LD2403183290 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1700 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] The Communist Party of Estonia will declare its independence and leave the Soviet Communist Party; that decision is expected to be made later this evening at the party congress, a congress overshadowed by the current developments in Lithuania, reports our correspondent from Tallinn.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] There is a clear majority of delegates for declaring the Estonian Communist Party independent, and that decision will be taken later this evening.

[Mikk Titma—in English] In the Estonian situation, it's clear that practically everything done here for 50 years by the local Communist Party has been worked out in Moscow.

[Correspondent] For the past 50 years the local Communist Party here in Estonia has been used merely as a tool, while the real decisions were made in Moscow, says the party's ideological secretary Mikk Titma. If we want to be an independent and civilized nation, it is quite obvious that the Communist Party, too, must be independent, he says. The events in Lithuania have cast a long shadow over the Estonian communists' congress, and at least among the delegates here there seems to a broad unanimity that Estonia must choose a more cautious path.

[Titma—in English] Certainly in negotiation, because declarations, they are symbolic. They are not a practical way to achieve real independence. To obtain this you need really very careful skillful negotiations.

[Correspondent] Of course we will go the way of negotiation, says Titma. Declarations are only symbols, not a practical way to achieve independence. Instead very scrupulous negotiations are needed, with both parties' interests recognised, says the Estonian Communist Party's ideological secretary Mikk Titma. After the party declares its independence this evening, the Russian delegates are expected to march out of the congress to form their own party, which will remain within the Soviet Communist Party. This will also be the beginning of a hard clash between the two parties over the property of the old Communist Party, not least the colossal party apparatus. Anders Eriksson, Tallinn. [end recording]

Delegates Discuss Estonian Party Congress

PM2503170990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Mar 90 First Edition p 3

[Special correspondent Captain Third Rank A. Orlov report: "Estonia: Consolidation or Split?"]

[Text] It is difficult to remain impartial when listening to the debates which are taking place at the 20th Congress of the Estonian Communist Party. I talk to delegates during the break. The arguments continue here too. How can you not feel sympathetic when you hear the following opinion, for instance:

"No new ideas are being advanced. It is painful to realize that the Estonian Communist Party may split," M. Paltser, director of studies at the Tallinn No. 20 Secondary School, says. "I joined the party in 1969. I thought a great deal before taking this step. I saw the party as a healthy force, and this is what it must remain, after all the Estonian Communist Party and the CPSU share the same ideology..."

On the first day many of the delegates expressed disagreement with a number of provisions of the political report of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee delivered by V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the republic Communist Party Central Committee. Submitted draft documents have also attracted criticism.

The report confirmed that the future of the Estonian Communist Party is being conceived with a focus on a sovereign Estonia. It was also said that as part of the former administrative-command system the Communist Party bears responsibility for the crisis situation in the national economy and the ecology, for the abnormal interethnic relations, and also for the negative phenomena in the republic party organization itself.

However, in the speeches delivered on the first day the following idea also surfaced frequently: The history of the Estonian Communist Party cannot be painted entirely in black, thus tightening the noose around our own necks, as one of the delegates put it. Different views were also expressed as regards the current activities of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. G. Israelyan, chief of a department of Tallinn Estonian Communist Party City Comittee, proposed that the work of the Central Committee be rated unsatisfactory.

However, some common viewpoints remain. It was stressed that the Estonian Communist Party is the only organization in which the Estonian and Russian-speaking communities still work together. In the opinion of many people this should not be overlooked. This means that the role of the center of the party is strengthening and reciprocal steps toward it both from the "left" and the "right" are now needed.

Incidentally, only the congress will show whether such steps materialize and how events will develop further. Meanwhile, social life in the republic is not confined to the congress.

The ESTONIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY [ETA] reports that a meeting has taken place between Estonian journalists and V. Landsbergis. The first thing the latter wanted to know was: "What decision has been reached in Estonia on the question of independence." An ETA special correspondent reports that on hearing of the desire to avoid a policy of "slammed doors," Landsbergis said that in his opinion all this will lead to nothing. Attempts to avoid the dangers currently facing "independent Lithuania" look, in some respect, as an attempt to mark time. And he added that by such actions Estonia may exacerbate... Lithuania's position. It is difficult to describe this as anything but interference in the affairs of another republic.

An appeal by the Estonian People's Front states that meetings "in support of the Lithuanian Republic" are to be held in a number of the republic's cities 25 and 26

March. "The best support we can give the Lithuanian Republic is to establish an Estonian Republic!"—this is how the appeal of the Estonian People's Front ends. As you can see, another flareup of confrontation is being planned.

'Final' Estonian Election Results Cited

PM2303115990 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Mar 90 p 1

[G. Sapozhnikova report: "Parliament Elected"]

[Text] The final results of elections to the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet were announced yesterday.

The electoral commission worked hard for three days and produced a list of the 105 deputies (seven of whom are women) of the newly elected Estonian parliament.

This time the seats in parliament were contested by representatives of three main political currents—the Estonian People's Front, the "Vaba Eesti" Association, and the United Council of Labor Collectives in alliance with the International Movement, the Strike Committee, and the War and Labor Veterans Council. They all were given an opportunity to participate in televised debates. They all distributed written, verbal, and telephone campaign material among the voters. There is no need to introduce the first and the third, whereas "Vaba Eesti" is a rather recent association which entered political life in the republic literally in the last few weeks. "Vaba Eesti" brought together many of Estonia's well known party and government leaders, whose popularity has started fading due to their negative attitude toward all official structures. People decided to gain victory.

This is how the voter's preferences were distributed: The People's Front and its sympathizers gained 49 seats, "Vaba Eesti" gained 29, and the international bloc with the military gained 27.

What was the voter turnout? Quite good. There were 78 percent of voters participating in the elections. Did they vote along nationality lines? Mainly yes, although that was not the watershed; the main factor was the attitude toward Estonia's own statehood. The main criterion in voting was the answer to this question: Will the deputy vote for an independent state or for the Soviet Federation?

And one last point. Not a single one of the 27 candidates aged 30 years or under got through to the Estonian Supreme Soviet. As a matter of fact, it is said that unpopularity of young people is nothing unusual throughout the democratic world.

Draft Resolution at Estonian Party Congress

LD2303123690 Moscow TASS in English 1159 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Tallinn March 23 TASS—The Estonian Communist Party began its 20th congress here today to discuss the political report of the Party Central Committee presented by its General Secretary Vaino Valjas.

The delegates, representing 100,000 Estonian communists, are to adopt program documents and elect delegates to the 28th Soviet Communist Party Congress.

A draft resolution, distributed among the delegates, says that the congress admits serious miscalculations and errors made by the Estonian Communist Party in the past.

According to the draft, the chief cause of the mistakes was that "The Estonian Communist Party was not an independent political force" but was incorporated into the Soviet Communist Party as a regional party organisation.

A draft program for reorganizing the Estonian Communist Party details the party's goals and tasks.

The program "is designed to unite all honest communists who wish to facilitate the steady advancement of Estonian society towards democratic socialism."

"The Estonian Communist Party rejects the practice of administrative socialism and utopian models for the future," the draft says.

The Estonian Communist Party stands for the state independence of Estonia but insists that the road towards this objective is "an arduous and controversial process that requires, along with a legal foundation, the establishment of a solid economic and social basis."

The draft says that the Estonian Communist Party favors "the independence of the Estonian state on the basis of the free expression of the people's will with due account for processes taking place in the USSR and Europe.

"Estonia's accession to real independence should proceed through negotiations between Estonia and the USSR."

The party links the future of the republic with the establishment of a nuclear-free Europe and a common European home.

The final section of the draft program deals with nationality policies. The party states that "Estonia is the only territory in the world, where it is necessary to secure the preservation of the Estonians as a nation and promote the free development of the Estonian language and culture."

At the same time, the party defends the rights of other ethnic groups living in Estonia to develop their native tongues and culture.

"It is necessary to create an atmosphere of inter-ethnic understanding, loyalty and civic peace in Estonia," the draft points out.

The congress started in a complicated political situation that is characterized by a considerable polarization of views.

Differing views were expressed at numerous rallies and in the press.

J. Tamma, secretary of the Tartu City Party Commitee, remarks in the SOVETSKAYA ESTONIA newspaper today that compromise is out of the question at the congress, and no consolidation could be reached on its basis.

N. Panfilov, secretary of the Tallinn City party committee, believes that those who are leading the party towards division are making a grave historical mistake.

Makeup of Estonian Supreme Soviet Analyzed

LD2303172590 Moscow TASS in English 1519 GMT 23 Mar 90

[By TASS analysts Albert Maloverian and Aleksandr Mineyev]

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—The distribution of seats in the Estonian Supreme Soviet after the March 18 elections shows that none of the main political forces have won the majority. This is an important distinction from Lithuania, where Sajudis dominates the new parliament and has steered the Republic abruptly towards secession from the Soviet Union.

The Estonian Popular Front, most radically set on restoring Estonian statehood outside the union, got only 46 seats out of 104, although political analysts predicted they would win at least 50 seats.

The Russian-speaking community sprung a surprise on many by winning 27 seats. According to Tallinn political scientist Vladimir Parol, the Estonian situation was influenced by the struggle now under way between the center and Lithuania. This made a part of the voters refrain from supporting the extreme nationalistic faction. Not everybody wants confrontation.

As to the Russian-speaking part of the voters, they would be confronted with the problem of changing their domicile, jobs and political orientation if Estonia seceded from the USSR. This made them particularly active.

Although the Communist Party of Estonia got 55 parliamentary seats, it is not monolithic today. Its deputies are dispersed among the principal groups. There are actually three factions in the party. The first one is within the orbit of the Popular Front. The second holds a centrist position (it was represented by the "Free Estonia" association, which got 13 seats). And the third group is represented by the Russian-speaking population, which includes both dogmatics and advocates of social renovation, cooperation and mutual assistance with Estonians. Observers believe the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Estonia, opening today, will hardly be able to change the picture and the future behavior of communist deputies in parliament.

The new parliament, which has sufficiently strong wings but a relatively weak center, obviously reflects the heatedness of political passions in the Republic today. However, analysts believe the center's influence will grow as pluralism becomes routine. Mutual understanding is not ruled out between parliament members from the Russian-speaking population and "Free Estonia." At the same time, they are capable of blocking a decision on Estonia's secession from the USSR.

The question of independence is bound to come up in the Estonian parliament. The recent congress of Estonian citizens had a telling influence on the indigenous population. The congress has bluntly spoken up for the restoration of an independent state. Some twenty members of the "Estonia Committee" it formed were elected to parliament.

It is unlikely, however, that the first session of the new Supreme Soviet, scheduled for mid-April, will be dominated by those that are for immediate secession from the USSR. The forces are about equal. Much depends on who will head such a pluralistic parliament. The developments around Lithuania will also play an important role.

Estonian Communist Party Congress Viewed

LD2303215890 Moscow TASS in English 2026 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Tallinn March 23 ETA-TASS—Delegates to the Estonian Communist Party (ECP) 20th Congress that opened here today represent the 100,000-member party organisation of this Baltic republic. They are to discuss the ECP Central Committee's political report delivered by party chief Vajno Valas.

"The independence of the Estonian Communist Party does not mean political isolation," the report said. "The communists together with other democratic movements and parties may establish a left- wing bloc. ECP activities should increasingly rely on universal human values of Marxism and new political thinking.

"ECP delegates to the 28th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) will reflect our aspirations for making the CPSU an alliance of equal sovereign communist parties adhering to common goals. The emergence of such an alliance would be a guarantor of our independence and stability.

"The ECP should offer its own highly radical version of the republic's getting out of crisis and promote the establishment of a new national status and ensure stability in inter-ethnic relations.

"During a transitional period every member of the party will decide, proceeding from ideas and political program, within which organisational structure he or she will act. The operation of the CPSU rules will not be suspended for the period. Self-purification, and not conversion into another party, is the way for the renewal of the ECP," the speaker emphasised.

Participants in the party forum are expected to adopt the party's programmatic documents and elect delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress.

A draft resolution circulated among delegates has it that the ECP Congress recognizes the serious errors made by the Estonian Communist Party in the past.

A draft program for ECP reorganzsation describes ECP goals and tasks in greater detail. The draft program has also been circulated among delegates to the congress.

The program "is to unite all honest communists who want to promote a stable development of Estonian society along the road of democratic socialism."

"The ECP renounces the practice of administrative socialism and utopian models of the future," the draft program reads.

The ECP favors state independence of Estonia but emphasizesthat attaining it is a "difficult and contradictory process, for which firm economic and social foundations and a legal basis should be furnished."

A large portion of the draft program for ECP reorganization deals with the nationalities policy. The party bases itself on the premise that "Estonia is the world's only territory where the preservation of Estonians as a nation and free development of the Estonian language and culture should be ensured."

At the same time the ECP favors the defense of the rights of other ethnic groups living in Estonia to the development of their native languages and cultures.

"In Estonia, it is essential to create an atmosphere of inter-ethnic mutual understanding, loyalty and civil peace," the draft program emphasizes.

The ECP Congress is being attended by Andrey Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The 20th ECP Congress will continue its work on March 24.

Vyalyas Addresses Estonian Congress Opening

LD2303221590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Mar 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Estonia opened today in Tallinn. Delegates representing the 106,000-strong party organization of that Baltic republic began their work in a political situation which is far from simple. It is marked by a considerable polarization of opinions. Various viewpoints were expressed on the eve of the opening of the congress at many mass meetings, and in the press. Is a compromise possible among the adherents of all these different viewpoints, and can they be consolidated on the basis of such a compromise? That is the question of questions voiced on the eve of the congress. This reportage by our special correspondent from Tallinn gives the details of the first day of its work.

[Aleksandr Barkhatov] The name of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Estonia does not contain the words "extraordinary" or "emergency." All the same, it is this congress that will have to solve the main problems over which there is such heated discussion here in the newspapers and on the air. Until recently there were in existence two party programs, draft programs. One of them was called the project of renewal, or program of renewal, and the other the program of action. In effect, they demanded a clear answer to the question whether the Communist Party of Estonia will continue to exist within the framework of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, or not. Well, from this followed of course the form of relations between the Republic and the Soviet Union. Now, on the basis of all the precongress discussion, yet another draft has come into being, which is also being submitted to the congress. This is the project for reorganization of the party. It embodies practically the entire analysis of the precongress discussions and it is being emphasized that this program is merely for the stage of extricating the Republic from its crisis.

At first, the congress was swamped by procedural matters: voting on individual names for membership of the working commissions; and this contrasted not very favourably with the impatience of the people standing in the streets with placards. Not until shortly before lunch did the delegates get to the first point on the agenda, the political report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia delivered by the first secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Vyalyas. Taking part in the work of the congress was Comrade Girenko, secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

Assessing the crisis in the Republic's party, Comrade Vyalyas said it seemed to the people that the long-awaited goal of restoring statehood was now nearer than ever before. But, at the same time, in tackling this main issue it is necessary to take account of a number of factors which are constantly in operation. Estonia is the home and land of the Estonian forebears, but it is also the case that we cannot choose the neighbors who live next to us. All those who have lived here for a long time, people of non-Estonian descent, must have a guarantee of equal rights. Speaking of the Communist Party of the Republic, Comrade Vyalyas stressed that it is still not an independent force. Its status is practically that of an obkom [oblast party committee] of the CPSU. Yet it needs its own independent program and needs to operate on the basis of Marxist ideology and the new political thinking. Estonian Communists see the CPSU of the future as a union of equal and sovereign parties. [passage omitted]

At the evening session of the congress, speeches began in the debate on the political report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia.

Latvians Discuss Meeting With Gorbachev

LD2303135190

[Editorial Report] Riga Domestic Service in Latvian at 1410 GMT on 21 March carries a report by corespondent Imants Austrins on a Latvian delegation's meeting with M.S. Gorbachev on 20 March. He says:

"The meeting yesterday afternoon lasted for several hours and questions concerning the further political, economic and social development of Latvia were discussed."

Austrins speaks with some of the Latvian delegation members.

A recording of a telephone conversation with Professor Ilmars Bisers, deputy chairman of the Chamber of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is played. He says: "Gorbachev took the view that we remain in the Union, that the USSR, according to him, would become a union of sovereign states based on treaties. And the treaties, according to him, could vary quite a lot—the historical, political, economic, and other features of each republic, the inclination of each republic for independence, and so on, could be taken into consideration in this system of treaties, according to him, in that each republic would be able to fully achieve its sovereignty".

Following a question on whether Bisers does not see a contradiction between what the president was promising and what draft laws were being examined at the Supreme Soviet, for example whether the draft law on secession from the Soviet Union included all the aspects, in the necessary juridical formula, for new treaty relations, Bisers remarks on the "absurdity" of a draft law on secession and not on entry; therefore, the talks should first of all consider the formation of some kind of a new union. He goes on: "We, in our turn, therefore said that we did not at all agree with everything he said. We said that we are ready to conclude a treaty with the Soviet Union." He says that, with future relations on the basis of treaties, moreover on the basis of friendly, equal and bilaterally advantageous treaties, then an economic and political sovereignty should be certainly guaranteed, with Latvia being recognized under international law.

In a further recorded telephone interview, Vilnis Bresis, chairman of the Latvian Council of Ministers, says that they had agreed on the work they would start, they had agreed that groups of representatives from Latvia would participate, and, with the Latvians' plan of work compiled, Gorbachev would also appoint representatives. He goes on: "The most important is that we must ourselves further elaborate those economic proposals—I am talking only about the economy, I am not talking about politics and about other aspects, about juridical and legal ones, I am talking about economic ones. So the Council of Ministers must draw up, as a basis, these aspects, and then in further talks, when we conduct talks, let us say, on our proposals, we shall be able to comment on whether they are being accepted or not".

To a question from Austrins on work by the Council of Ministers which could be used in these talks, "knowing that, let us say, it was proposed to Lithuania to pay the Soviet Union amounts which, according to their calculations, do not correspond to reality, are there, let us say, some kind of calculations also at our Council of Ministers?" Bresis says:

"Well, without doubt, at the Council of Ministers, at the Ministry of Economy, let us say, our Committee for Statistics has a great many departments. And calculations concerning the value of assets, let us say, how much these have depreciated, how much has been transferred both by the budget and to the ministries in charge of enterprises, all that has already been calculated innumerable times, and we know these figures."

Austrins goes on: "All the participants in this morning's telephone conversations emphasized that in the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev the initial results of the Supreme Soviet elections held in Latvia had formed a significant background." In a conversation with Mavriks Vulfsons, Austrins asks whether the election results had influenced the talks.

Vulfsons replies: "Yes. The first to speak was Comrade Gorbunovs. We informed Comrade Gorbachev about the election results, about the success of the People's Front in these elections, and, as we assume, that the People's Front will have a majority in the new parliament, at the Supreme Soviet, and that therewith such a situation could arise in which the parliament of Latvia will be empowered to adopt also a decision on declaring the independence of Lativa.

"This does not mean that it will correspond to the preconceptions existing at the center on the procedure of secession, but by all means it will correspond to the status, and, therewith, what work we could accomplish taking such prospects into consideration." [as heard] He goes on: "There was really, on both sides, I would say, a very business-like approach, in so far as it was accurately clarified in what direction and on what problems work had to be done by working groups. Agreement was also reached that working groups begin work in the very near future.

"Well, as it appeared to us, actually all the working groups have a great significance, including that one which will talk about military questions, i.e., about the places of stationing of the troops and so on." Vulfsons says that "to our eyes the first working group is especially important, that one which will conduct talks—not from the standpoint that it is the most important, but the problem to us, to our eyes is very significant—on the restoration of the statehood of Latvia, that is, and in what forms we shall do this."

"We clearly stated that this means that Latvia must be a subject of international relations," he adds.

"He [Gorbachev] listened to this, did not raise any objections against it. But, on his part, he placed an emphasis more on that Latvia will be—if I am allowed now to interpret him like that, these are not the exact words of his—will be a member of such a confederation which would have very far-reaching rights, as he said, which would have an opportunity of going out into the entire world."

In conclusion Austrins refers to talks of a similar character with the Estonian delegation, although the main question there was the next Estonia Congress. Besides Gorbachev, Politburo representatives had also participated in these, Austrins notes. But according to members of the Estonian delegation "their talks with the Moscow representatives were much sharper than those with the deputies of Latvia."

Gorbunov Views Meeting

LD2303182990

[Editorial Report] Riga Domestic Service in Latvian at 1830 GMT on 20 March carries a telephone interview with Anatoliy Gorbunov, secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee, by Anta Busa on a Latvian delegation's meeting with M.S. Gorbachev on 20 March. Busa asks whether this meeting with Gorbachev can be taken as a start of talks on state independence for Latvia, or only as a meeting.

Gorbunov says: "I would, however, think that this was the start of talks. So then, today, on 20 March, USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev received us, USSR people's deputies: myself, Ilmars Bisers, Vilnis Bresis, Janis Vagris, and Mavriks Vulfsons. And during the meeting we discussed the question of Latvian state sovereignty and a settlement of the mutual relations between Latvia and the USSR on founddations of treaties.

"USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev took the stand for a transformation of the USSR into a union of sovereign states based on a foundation of treaties. This system of treaties will be quite diverse, and in this system of treaties every republic's historical, political, economic, and other peculiarities will be taken into consideration. Practically in such a way every republic will be able to realize its sovereignty.

"Taking into account such a statement, we expressed readiness to form future relations on the basis of friendly, equal, rights and bilaterally advantageous treaties, if the political, economic sovereignty of Latvia is ensured, and Latvia is recognized as a subject of international law.

"And we arrived at an agreement to start in the very nearest future to draw up such an agreement. And for this purpose we will form specialized working groups for the examination of political, economic, ecological, military, foreign affairs and humanitarian questions. Briefly, this then will be all."

Busa asks if the delegation as a whole is satisfied with this visit.

Gorbunov says: "Well, by all means, I think that the talks took place in a spirit of openness and mutual respect. This is only the very, very beginning. And with the beginning, we think, we can be satisfied."

Preliminary Results of Latvian Elections Reported

LD2303174190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Mar 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The Central Electoral Commission has summed up the results of the first round of elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], held last Sunday [18 March]. In all, 177 deputies have been elected. The commission has registered 166. Four electoral okrugs have protested illegalities during the voting; for this reason, four deputies have not yet been registered. "The choice of parliament, or the choice of fate?": that was the question that faced the inhabitants of the Republic. Accordingly, the turn-out was fairly high: 84 percent of the population voted. The atmosphere was very tense, and the members of the commission were outnumbered by the public observers." [passage omitted]

It is now expected that the election marathon will be over by the end of April. It will then be possible to gain a precise idea of who the members of the Republic's parliament will be. Meanwhile, the first results are as follows: 70 percent of the deputies who have been elected represent the National Front; the new membership of the Latvian Supreme Soviet also includes representatives of the Communist Party of Latvia, the Inter-Movement [Interdvizheniye], the Social-Democratic Party, the Movement for National Independence, the Greens, and other public organizations and movements of the Republic.

Latvian Body Supports Lithuanian CPSU

LD2303185790 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1600 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Summary] News about events in Lithuania includes the following:

"Feeling the unmistakable psychological support of the USSR, members of the Lithuanian branch of the CPSU have noticeably livened themselves up; they are being appreciably supported also by the Inter-Front of Latvia".

Caucasus

Armenians Kill Nine in Azerbaijan Villages

LD2503142390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1405 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, 25 Mar (TASS)—According to an 'AZERINFORM' report from Baku, "on 24 March armed groups of Armenian guerrillas attacked the inhabitants of the villages of Baganis Ayrum, Pirili, and Chayly in the Kazakhskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan. Many of the villagers received wounds from automatic weapons. Eight dwellings were set on fire in Baganis Ayrum. The Asliyev family of five was consumed in the fire. One militia officer was killed and another wounded in the course of their duties. In all, nine people perished. Three people were kidnapped in the village of Chayly."

The AZERINFORM correspondent was informed by the republican Ministry of Internal Affairs that subunits of internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and some 150 militia personnel have been sent to the area, and are currently there.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Council of Ministers of the republic have expressed profound condolences to the relatives and dear ones of those who died, and in their statement have condemned this action.

Explosion, Shooting on Azerbaijan Railroad

LD2503152690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1454 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Moscow, 25 Mar (TASS)—[passage omitted] AZERINFORM has also reported that at 2032 on the same day [24 March], there was an explosion under the second carriage of a passenger train travelling the route Norashen-Baku, at Karchevan station on the Nakhichevan section of the Azerbiajan railroad, on the territory of Megrinskiy rayon, Armenia. As a result of the explosion, part of the locomotive and two carriages were derailed, and the trackbed was damaged. On the same section, at 2310, a back-up locomotive sent to repair the track was shot at.

Armenia, Azerbaijan Violence Detailed

LD2503182290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 25 Mar 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] TASS correspondents report:

The information coming in from the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and the Azerbaijan SSR continues to evoke disquiet and cause certain alarm. On the morning of 22 March, while a group of Armenian guerrillas was attempting to adapt a hail-gun for shooting at settlements in the Azerbaijan SSR, a shell exploded. Two guerrillas died, and there are wounded. On the same day, 15 people, members of the rayon organization of the so-called Association for National Self-Determination in Artashatskiy Rayon in Armenia, armed with automatic weapons and pistols, burst into the offices of staff of party and soviet bodies in the rayon and threatened them with physical reprisals.

The situation has worsened sharply on the border between Noyemberyanskiy Rayon of the Armenian SSR and the Kazakhskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan. On 23-24 March, firearms were used by both sides in a number of villages in these rayons, and cars and houses were shot at. Armenian guerrillas attacked the settlements Askipira, Baganis, Ayrum. According to preliminary figures, seven Azerbaijanis died, including two children and a militia worker. Also wounded in the clashes were an Armenian woman and a child. There were cases of hostages being taken.

On 24 March, in Shushinskiy Rayon of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, there was an explosion of a home-made bomb with a timer at a filling station along the Yevlakh-Lachin road. The filling station was put out of action. On the evening of the same day, in Megrinskiy rayon of the Armenian SSR, there was an explosion under one of the carriages of a Norashen-Baku passenger train. As a result, the locomotive and two carriages were derailed. There were no casualties. A backup locomotive which was despatched to the Megri station to clear the track and allow through a repair train was shot at by guerrillas, and train movements halted.

It would seem that certain extremist forces would like to upset the first results of the stabilization, and again unleash conflicts, without regard for the casualties and damage. The actions of the Armenian guerrillas, in particular, only undermine the interests of the Armenian people themselves. In order to prevent a fresh outburst of violence in the region, the law enforcement bodies have been given instructions to carry out a thorough investigation of all the facts set out above, to find the guilty parties and to bring them strictly to book.

Azerbaijan Protests Against Armenian 'Attacks'

NC2603112890 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] At the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers: [as heard]

Contrary to the union and the Azerbiajan SSR organs' recent efforts to normalize the situation in the region, the nationalist and extremist forces in the Armenian SSR have been trying to strain the situation further, to grossly violate the Azerbaijan SSR's sovereignty, and to carry out armed attacks on the border settlements in Azerbaijan. Bands of brigands, which have been armed with weapons suitable to realize these malicious intentions, are being used. Setting fire to houses and killing peaceful citizens in Kazakhskiy Rayon, blasting a railway juncture on the Kerchivan-Megri section of the railway, and firing on (?Keberek) and Kerki in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and on (?Miladi) in the Armenian SSR, where Azerbaijanis live, indicate the number of forces in the Armenian SSR intentionally performing acts to further intensify interethnic discord and hostility.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers strongly condemn the hostile activities, which have caused deaths and significant material losses. All these groups categorically object to the leading Armenian SSR organs, which have not taken any measures to collect the large number of arms the people possess. On the contrary, controlling the arms that individuals possess is not being pursued, and instead organizing combat groups and deploying them in the border region of the Azerbaijan SSR is being maintained.

The republic's workers have been expressing serious anxiety and uneasiness because some union organs failed to effect the required standards with a view to obstructing criminal intentions, anticonstitutional activities, and unending law violations against the Azerbaijanis.

Pointing to the extremely dangerous situation as a result of increasing attacks on the republic's border rayons, the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers has urged the Soviet Government to consider immediately adopting measures aimed at guaranting the people's security and providing for a peaceful existence along the entire border with the Armenian SSR. The question is creating a system to safeguard the border region against possible armed attacks.

The republic's committee for state security and the ministry of internal affairs were instructed to take all necessary measures to protect the people and their property against extremist forces' armed attacks. Special operative groups affiliated with the committee for state security and the ministry of internal affairs have been sent to where the incidents occurred. Together with the units of the internal forces affiliated with the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs they are taking additional measures to prevent attacks on the Azerbaijan SSR's territorial integrity and on citizens' peaceful lives.

The republic's procuracy, the committee for state security, and the ministry of internal affairs were instructed to work together with the union organs to carefully investigate the recent crimes.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers call on the people and all the workers of Azerbaijan to act with common sense, maturity, and calmness. We intend to maintain a strong and resolute approach for the sake of our republic's interests and for the sake of strengthening our republic's sovereignty.

Azerbaijan 'Illegal Actions' Continue

LD2403171690 Moscow World Service in Russian 1030 GMT 24 Mar 90

[From the "Soviet Chronicle" feature of the "Soviet Union Day by Day" program; report attributed to INTERFAX]

[Text] An INTERFAX correspondent reports from Baku that the procuracy, KGB, and ministry of internal affairs of Azerbaijan have made an appeal to the republic's inhabitants through the mass media. Let us recall that the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the situation in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic and the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic and the measures for normalizing the situation in this region create a legal basis for the introduction of order. They noted that extremist citizens are nonetheless continuing to incite the population to illegal actions. As before, people are illegally keeping weapons, ammunition, and explosives which they have obtained and manufactured under the pretext of protecting the territorial integrity of the republic. In the appeal it is proposed that the population surrender their weapons and assist in stabilizing the situation in the republic. This would speed up the lifting of the emergency in Azerbaijan.

Azerbaijan 'Criminals' Steal Explosives

LD2403123590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1131 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Baku, 24 Mar (AZERINFORM-TASS)—The State Security Committee and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Azerbaijan have reported that in January this year a group of criminals, taking advantage of the complicated situation in the republic because of the negligence of individual officials, opened up a wagon carrying explosives at Ali-Bayramly railway station and stole a large quantity of cases containing ammonite and gunpowder.

As a result of explanatory work carried out by the republican state security committee and Ministry of Internal Affairs among the population of the city, over 600 cases of ammonite (14.5 tonnes) and 38 cases of gunpowder (over three tonnes) were voluntarily handed in on 24 March.

As was reported earlier, persons voluntarily handing in weapons, explosives, and munitions are exempted from criminal liability.

Central Asia

TASS Report Results of Uzbekistan Elections

Karimov Elected President

LD2403152390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1435 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Tashkent, 24 Mar (TASS)—Islam Karimov, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of this Soviet republic in Central Asia, was elected president by a secret ballot at the session of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet which opened here today.

Speaking to deputies, he thanked them for the confidence shown and declared that he considered his main duty as president of the republic the increased strengthening and development of the political sovereignty of the Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. In the sphere of national-state construction paramount attention should, in his opinion, be devoted to improving interethnic relations and guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of citizens irrespective of nationality, language, or religion.

The strengthening of the republic's economic independence and its transition to self-government and self-financing is a very important task for the presidential government.

Fifty-two-year-old Islam Karimov was born into an office worker's family. He is an Uzbek and an economist by profession. He began his working life as a craftsman's assistant at the agricultural machine-building works in Tashkent. During recent years he has occupied the posts of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Uzbekistan and chairman of Gosplan of the republic. In 1989 Islam Karimov was elected first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan and USSR people's deputy.

Supreme Soviet Chairman Reelected

LD2603121790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1143 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Tashkent 26 Mar (TASS)—The 62-year-old Mirzaolim Ibragimov was today elected chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan, a Soviet Central Asian republic with a population of more than 20 million. He polled a majority of votes among the people's deputies at the current session of the supreme legislative body of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic.

The session nominated Pulat Abdurakhmanov, first secretary of the Samarkand Oblast Party Committee as an alternative candidate, but while the candidates were being discussed, he withdrew from the contest.

Mirzaolim Ibragimov, an Uzbek by nationality, was graduated from the Pedagogical Institute, and taught in a rural school. He joined the CPSU at the age of 20. Since 1963 he has occupied high party and state posts; he was minister of the cotton-ginning industry of Uzbekistan, first secretary of Namangan Oblast Party Committee, chairman of the republican State Committee for Physical Culture and Sport, and permanent representative of Uzbekistan to the USSR Government. In 1989 he was elected chairman of the Presidium of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet.

Samarkand First Secretary Readmitted to Party

LD2403105790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] The tasks of the republic's party organizations in preparation for the 21st CPSU Congress and the 22d Congress of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan were discussed at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan. It was decided to put forward a legislative initiative on the establishment of the post of president of the Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] at the first session of the republic's Supreme Soviet.

A statement by Radzhabov, former first secretary of the Samarkand Oblast Party Committee, was considered at the plenum. taking into account the fact that the bureau of the Central Committee of the republic's communist party revoked its decision as unfounded, the plenum restored him to the party and also to membership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan.

Commandant Shortens Dushanbe Curfew 24 Mar

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[Text] Dushanbe March 24 Tadzhikta-TASS—Military commandant of Dushanbe, Major-General of the Interior Troops Mamadayez Navzhuvanov said in his national television appearance today that the curfew on the territory of Dushanbe will now be two hours shorter—from midnight until five o'clock A.M. local time.

The curfew and the state of emergency can be fully lifted only when there are firm guarantees of no recurrence of the tragic February events that led to bloodshed, Navzhuvanov said.

One of such guarantees is to promptly and objectively investigate into the extremist 12-14 February crimes, to strictly punish not only participants in mass disorders but also those who masterminded the violent youths.

Much depends on activities of the republican parliamentary commission which is bound to politically assess the

February events and also different informal organisations, like Rostakhez and RU BA RU.

Outwardly it is calm in the city. All industrial enterprises and public transport are functioning. The celebrations of Nowruz, a new lunar calendar year, passed without incident. A number of theatres and concert halls opened.

There is also ground for concern. Republican party and state bodies are receiving information on attempts to hold unsanctioned meetings and to collect signatures in defence of "the putchists", the men who tried to remove Soviet Tajikistan's legitimate government by a non-constitutional way.

There is also information about unseemly activities of some clergymen. Some representatives of the Moslem clergy call for separate education of Tadjik boys and girls and advocate early marriage of girls—at the age of 12-13. Direct threats against the republican leadership are also made.